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The Discovery of the East

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THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

G. R. CRONE

THE DISCOVERY
OF THE EAST

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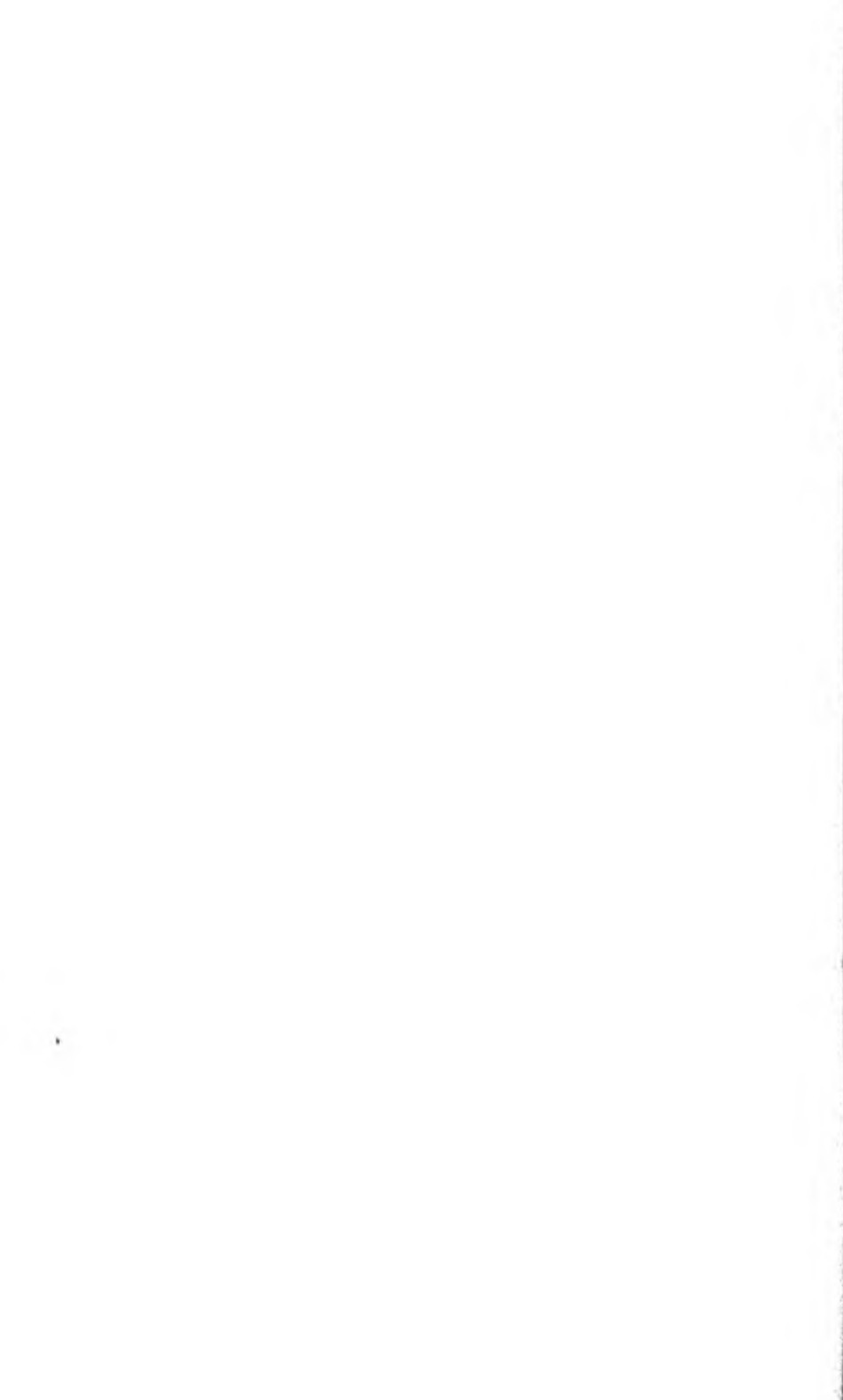
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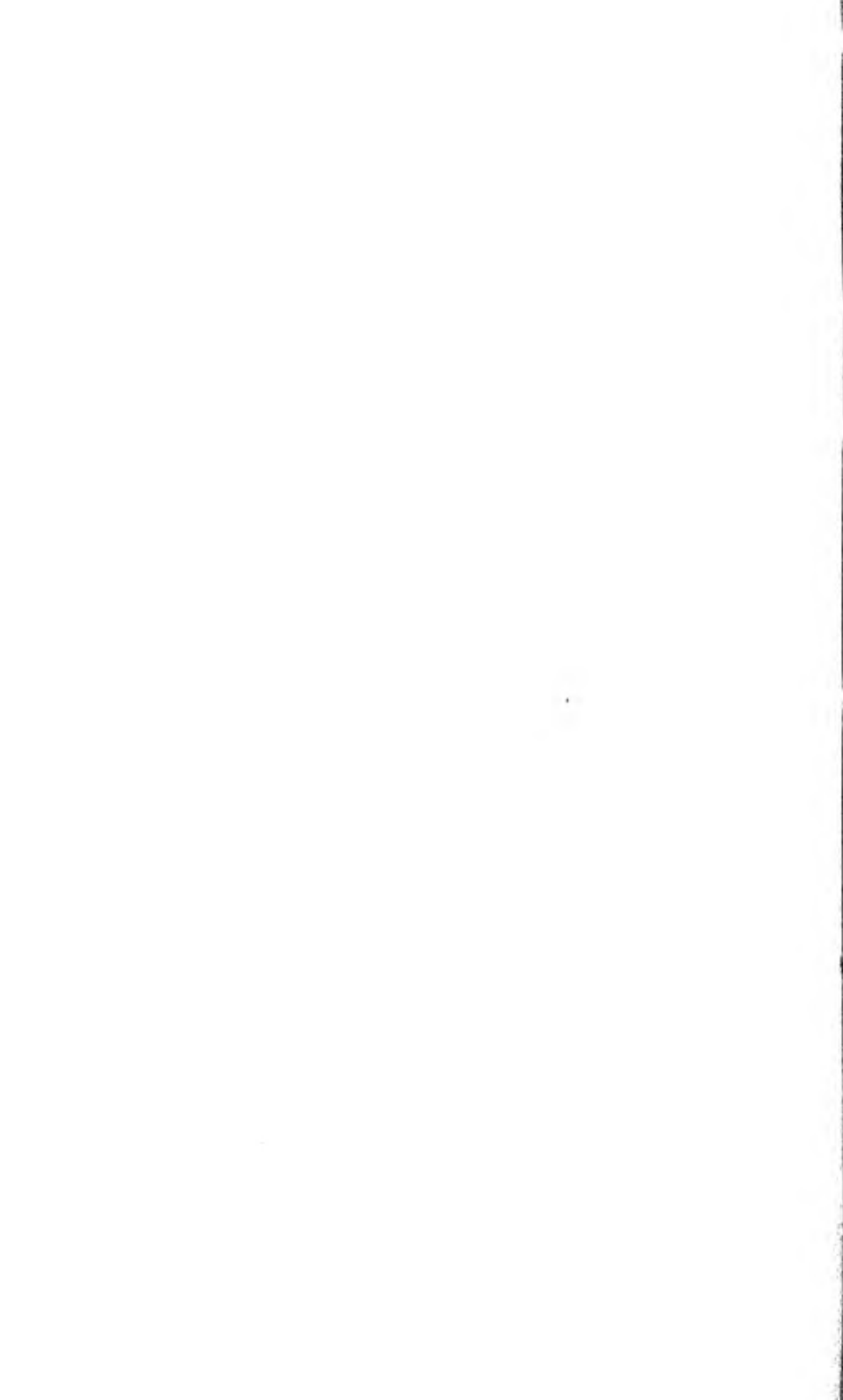
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Introduction

THE HISTORY of Renaissance discovery and exploration may conveniently be treated in two sections; the expansion westwards across the Atlantic to the New World led by Spain and Portugal, and the drive to the East pioneered by Portugal alone. While the underlying impetus was similar, each phase had its distinctive features. The western world was unsuspected by contemporary cosmographers, and was at first regarded as a barrier between Europe and the islands of the true India. Exploration showed it to be the home of peoples at a stage of material culture which did not fit them to withstand the assaults of the aggressive, organized and better equipped Spaniards in search of 'gold and glory'. From the second voyage of Columbus onwards, the purpose of the invaders was to conquer, settle and exploit the new lands with, at first, little regard for the well-being of the indigenous peoples. In accomplishing this, the Spaniards, though to some extent making use of local institutions and aptitudes, imposed an alien system of government which was to endure for several centuries.

Portuguese expansion eastwards was carried out in other circumstances. During its course, in the half-century between 1500 and 1550, the Portuguese established control over the sea routes of the Indian Ocean, reached the sources of the oriental spice trade, and established relations with Japan, the semi-legendary island of Cipangu. Far from being totally unknown or unexpected, India and the great south-eastern archipelago had, however dimly, long held a place in the imagination of Mediterranean Europe, and although there was little or no direct communication, the products of the East had for centuries been in demand in its markets. The pioneers came into contact with great and long-established civilizations, in many respects as highly developed as their own, but on the whole sedentary, unaggressive, introvert rather than extrovert, and

without the technical equipment and organization to drive off the intruders. What the Portuguese sought was control of the system of maritime trade which linked the countries of southern Asia from China to the Red Sea, and by extension to southern Europe, a system which had operated for many centuries before their arrival. In this struggle they had to contend also with another aspirant to dominion, the force of Islam. To achieve their objective, the initial task of the Portuguese was to find a practical route into the Indian Ocean, a search which necessitated the circumnavigation of the African continent. Once established on the Malabar coast, their influence spread throughout the East with remarkable rapidity, until challenged by rivals from Western Europe. At that point, the discovery of the East—the revelation of a great part of the world previously outside the direct knowledge of Europe—may be said to have come to an end. Exploration of the interior by Europeans was yet to come. The theme of this book therefore is the opening up of the sea route to the East, the achievements of the Portuguese pioneers and the early contacts in modern history between Europe and Asia; the transcontinental land routes and the exploration of the Pacific are touched upon only as they bear on this theme.

The book is largely based on contemporary accounts and the narratives of travellers. I have also consulted the authoritative studies listed in the bibliography—particularly those by Professor A. Z. Cortesão and Professor C. R. Boxer. To them and to the Council of the Hakluyt Society I am indebted for permission to quote extensively from their publications.

G.R.C.

CHAPTER ONE

The Wealth of the Indies

WHEN DA GAMA's little fleet anchored off Calicut, Portugal had at last made contact with a great trading system which, directly or indirectly, linked mercantile communities extending from Africa and Arabia to China. Within these limits, a flourishing inter-regional commerce had grown up over the centuries, while along its sea-routes flowed the prize for which the Portuguese had struggled over thousands of miles of ocean previously unknown to western Europe—the spices and drugs of southern India and the island world of south-east Asia. Purchased by Italian merchants, predominantly Venetians, in the ports of the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant, these exotic wares were then distributed throughout Europe to meet the demand, steadily growing in medieval times, for condiments and food preservatives. To break this Turkish-Venetian monopoly was a prime motive of the Portuguese pioneers.

The theatre of operations was, certainly for the period, far-flung. The great circle distance from the Persian Gulf to the Malabar coast is 1,600 statute miles; from Malabar to Malacca, 1,900 miles, and from Malacca to Canton, 1,600 miles, a total of approximately 6,500 miles—formidable distances for small vessels dependent upon wind power. That trade had developed over a region of this magnitude was due in the main to the opportunities offered by the tropical monsoon system which, with local variations, is dominant throughout. The seasonal winds are consequent on changing conditions in the air masses over the Asian continent, which produce in-flowing, rain-bearing winds in the summer when the atmospheric pressure is low (the south-west monsoon from June to October) and out-flowing, dry winds in the winter when pressure is high (the north-east monsoon from November to May). By choosing the right moment to sail, it was possible to make an outward voyage of considerable

length, to conduct business, and then to return to the home port with the next monsoon, all within a year or so. When the summer monsoon broke over the Indian Ocean, the strong south-west winds closed the exposed Malabar coast for three months, all navigation outwards or inwards ceased; when the winds began to abate and to veer, vessels arrived from the east African coast, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The return voyage, across the Indian Ocean, was made with the north-east monsoon early the following year, to reach the African coast before the next summer monsoon broke. On the voyage from Malabar eastwards the pilots aimed to reach the coast of China by the beginning of June; for the return they sailed early the following year with the winter monsoon, which carried them to Malacca; or with luck they might reach the Malabar coast before the south-west monsoon closed the ports.

Use was made of this rhythmical shift of winds for many centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese. Traditionally, the first to strike boldly across the Indian Ocean was the Greek seaman, Hippalus, in the first century A.D. Intercourse between southern India and the Roman world then attained considerable proportions. In the first two centuries of our era, Graeco-Roman merchants set up trading stations along the western and eastern coasts of the sub-continent, which included Barygaza (Broach), the chief emporium; Muziris (Cranganore), where a temple was erected in honour of the Emperor Augustus, and, on the east coast, Camara (Kaveripatnam) and Arikamedu (Poudouke), south of Madras. This last, on a site largely eroded by the sea, has been partially excavated to reveal a brick-built quay, a storehouse and a small industrial quarter. Shreds of Arretine ware and fragments of wine amphoras, glass and lamps indicate that the port flourished in the years 50 to 200 A.D.

The Tamil literature of the 'Sangam' age contains several references to the activities of these strangers, known by the generic name of *Iavanas*: 'agitating the white foam of the Periyaru, the beautifully built ships of the Iavanas came with gold and returned with pepper, and Muziris resounded with the noise'. In another passage, the local prince is exhorted to drink the cool and fragrant wines which arrived in their vessels. The strangers came not only as merchants but also as mercenaries, 'whose bodies were strong and of terrible aspect', and who, equipped with murderous swords, were excellent guardians of the fort walls. The principal product sought

by these Graeco-Romans was the pepper of high quality grown in southern India, the keen demand for which in the Roman world was inexplicable to the younger Pliny. 'It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion, seeing that in other substances which we use, it is sometimes their sweetness and sometimes their appearance that has attracted our notice; whereas pepper has nothing in it that can plead as a recommendation to either fruit or berry, its only desirable quality being a certain pungency, and yet it is for this that we import it all the way from India.' Other exports to the west, spices and drugs, precious stones and small quantities of silk brought from China were insignificant compared to the quantities of pepper consumed in the Empire.

From the merchants who conducted this traffic, the Graeco-Romans gathered some knowledge of the lands to the east. For centuries, Indian trade, culture and religion had spread through these lands to Malaya, Sumatra, Java and into China. Thus the second-century geographer, Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria, recorded confused details of the Malay peninsula under the name of the Golden Chersonesus and of the South China Sea, his *Sinus Magnus*. The most distant city of which he had heard was Cattigara, probably in the vicinity of Hanoi, in the land of This, or southern China.

The traffic between Rome and southern India reached its height during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, after which, in the political upheavals accompanying the decline of Rome, it died away rapidly and Persian and Arab seamen and merchants replaced the Graeco-Romans. To the east, Indian trade continued to grow with the developing Hindu kingdoms of the archipelago. In these circumstances, southern India grew in importance as a meeting place between east and west. A sixth-century Byzantine traveller, Cosmas Indicopleustes, who had visited the coasts of the Indian Ocean, recognized the significance of this central position: 'the ports of southern India and Ceylon were much frequented by ships from all parts of India, Persia and Ethiopia, and they send out many ships of their own. From the remotest countries they receive silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood and other products, which again are passed on to markets on this side [that is, on the west] such as Malabar, where pepper grows, and on to Persia and Ethiopia'. China, from where the silk came, lay on the edge of the world—'beyond this there is

no other country, for the Ocean surrounds it on the east'. This reference to cloves is interesting, since they can only have come, directly or indirectly, from the Molucca Islands.

The lead was first taken by Persia during the Abbasid dynasty when, in a remarkable outburst of maritime activity, her seamen navigated the seas from the Persian Gulf to the Yellow Sea, and brought the wealth of the orient to Baghdad on the Tigris. Arab chroniclers dwell eloquently on this theme; for Yacubi, Baghdad was the 'waterfront of the world', while another exclaimed, 'This is the Tigris. There is no obstacle between us and China; everything on the sea can come to us over it.'

In the account of an Arab merchant, Sulayman, writing in about 950, there is much information on these voyages, each lasting usually two years. Leaving the Persian Gulf early in the year, the fleet, laden with rich fabrics, various kinds of metalwork, and bullion, called at the ports of the Malabar coast, where Quilon was the principal port for pepper. Sailing south of Ceylon and past the Nicobar Islands, they put in to Kola Bar, on the coast of the Malay peninsula, where they did business with traders from the islands. Passing through the Strait of Malacca they then coasted around the Gulf of Tonking or sailed direct with the monsoon to Canton, their main trading post in China, and possibly beyond to Chu'an Chow Fu and Hangchow, later known to the medieval West as Zaitun and Quinsay. At Canton trade was strictly controlled by the imperial officials, whose impartiality and sense of justice was praised by Sulayman. After months of protracted bargaining and of waiting for the winter monsoon, the fleet sailed on the homeward voyage, laden with cargoes of silk and porcelain. In the course of time the Arab hold on this oriental trade declined. The voyage at best was tedious and hazardous, and there was always the possibility that cargoes might be seized at the intermediate ports; for centuries the critical passage through the Malacca Strait was controlled by the powerful Hindu empire of Shrivijaya, which at its height comprised large areas of Sumatra, the Malay peninsula and central Java. The effect of this was to split the through route into sections. 'Moorish' ships from Hormuz, the island emporium port at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and from Aden sailed as far as the ports of the Malabar coast where Moslem merchant communities, tolerated, indeed encouraged, by the Tamil rulers, had settled. There, trade was con-

ducted with local merchants and also with those from the east, before returning to Hormuz or Aden. Other Moslem, Malay and Siamese traders worked the section from Malabar to the Malay peninsula, and similarly between the Malay ports and China. This trade was largely carried in great sea-going junks which by the twelfth century had reached a high standard of efficiency. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo, who was entrusted by Kublai Khan with the mission of conducting a princess from China to Persia by sea, has left an illuminating account of this sea route and of the countries thus linked together. He was greatly impressed by the size of the port of Zaitun and the heavy volume of trade which entered it and was distributed throughout the interior—pepper, drugs, precious stones and pearls. He asserted that 'for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria or elsewhere, to be taken to Christian lands, there come a hundred to this port of Zaitun. For you must know that it is one of the two great harbours of the world for the amount of its trade'. Part of this trade came from innumerable islands which lay in the Ocean, far to the east of the mainland, as well as from India. This must be a general reference to the eastern islands of the Indonesian archipelago, probably including the Moluccas, though cloves are not specifically mentioned. He was, however, writing from hearsay, for the islands, he reported, were too distant to be easily visited.

At Canton this trade was carefully organized by officers of the Great Khan. A duty of ten per cent was levied on all imports *ad valorem*; in addition, the merchants paid up to forty per cent for freight charges. Nevertheless the remaining half yielded them a handsome profit, and they could look forward to an equal reward on their return voyage. Of the junks which carried this trade Marco Polo gave a detailed description: 'They are made of a wood which is called fir, and of pine. They have a deck, and on this deck there are in most of them sixty cabins, in each of which a merchant can live comfortably. They have one rudder and four masts. Often they add two more masts which can be set up and taken down as the occasion demands. Some of the ships, that is, the bigger ones, also have inside them thirteen tanks or compartments made of strong boards fitted firmly together; thus if the ship should chance by any accident to spring a leak, either by striking against a rock, or because a hungry dolphin gives it a blow and staves in some part of

it . . . then the water flowing through the leak falls into the bilge, which is always kept empty. Thereupon the sailors ascertain where the leak is, and empty out the flooded compartments, transferring everything into the neighbouring ones; the water cannot pass from one compartment to another, so well and strongly built are the partitions separating them. After this they stop the leak and replace the cargo.' They were also equipped with large wooden anchors, so heavy that they were able to ride out the stormy weather off the open beaches of Malabar, when other vessels were wrecked. The fleet in which he sailed for the west comprised fourteen of these junks, four-masted and often spreading twelve sails; the largest were manned by 250 or more sailors, with a total company approaching one thousand. Though he did not call at Java, he had heard of the wealth of the island; he added, however, that owing to the length and danger of the voyage to western countries, all its exports were sent to China. Of the trade of Sumatra he had little to report; the island was undergoing a period of political disturbance, and the coasts were largely held by Moslem sultans in the van of Islam's invasion of the archipelago.

Polo was much impressed by the activities in the ports of southern India, and the high degree of organization of their international trade. The east-coast province of Ma'abar, corresponding approximately to the Coromandel Coast, was noted for its pearl fisheries and for its jewels, which included diamonds from the northern district later celebrated under the name of Golconda—the only source of diamonds in the medieval world. He was also intrigued by the profusion of coconut trees and the many uses to which the nuts were put, particularly the use of coir, obtained from the outer husk, 'made up, as it were of strings', in shipbuilding. The principal harbour was Cail, frequented by ships from Hormuz and Arabia. The king was noted for his rectitude; justice was efficiently administered, foreign merchants were welcomed, and from an early age children were carefully trained in business routine. Brahmins, combining religious and economic power, were particularly reliable. Foreign merchants, ignorant of the ways of the country, entrusted them with their affairs; they conducted all the buying and selling as if they were acting for themselves, and accepted whatever fee their clients thought fit to offer.

Beyond Cail was the great trading port of Quilon, on the western

coast, the principal outlet for the high-grade pepper grown in the surrounding district and noted also for its cinnamon and ginger. The imports included copper, with which the ships were ballasted, silk, porcelain and cloves from the east, silver bullion, finely wrought cloth, and great numbers of horses from Arabia. There was a large foreign community in the city, including Jews and Syrian Christians.

North of the Malabar coast were the Moslem sub-kingdoms of the Delhi sultanate, Cambay and Gujerat. Junks from China did not sail so far, but there was a considerable trade with Hormuz in horses, and with the east coast of Africa. The Gujeratis, 'the worst pirates in the world', also profited from their raids upon the Malabar shipping, and from an export in cotton, indigo, and hides to Hormuz and Arabia.

In Polo's time, the portion of the oriental trade destined for south-west Asia and the Middle East was directed to Hormuz. Hormuz was 'frequented by traders from all parts of India, who bring spices and drugs, precious stones, pearls, gold tissues, ivory and various other articles of merchandise. These they dispose of to a different set of traders, by whom they are dispersed throughout the world'. As a Venetian, Polo was more interested in the trade which passed through Aden, at the entrance to the Red Sea, 'the port at which all the ships of India call, with their merchandise. And great numbers of merchants flock there. From this port, the merchants, transferring their wares into smaller boats, sail for some seven days up a river [he is referring to the Red Sea]. At the end of the seven days, they unload their ships, and, placing their wares on camels, take them for some thirty days further. After thirty days, they reach the river of Alexandria, called the Nile, where wares are loaded on small vessels, which carry them with ease to Cairo, and thence, along a canal called Calizene, to Alexandria. In such wise, by way of Aden, the Saracens of Alexandria have pepper and spices and other precious wares; nor is there any other good short route by which they can reach Alexandria . . . The Sultan of Aden receives a great income and revenue from the heavy dues paid by the ships and merchants that come and go about his territory. He is one of the wealthiest kings in the world'.

Aden was also the centre for trade with the east coast of Africa. It had for centuries been customary for vessels to sail from ports in

southern Arabia with the north-east monsoon to eastern Africa, then to cross the Indian Ocean with the south-west monsoon to Malabar of Gujerat, and then back to their Arabian ports. Polo learnt of the sultanate of Mogadishu on the Somali coast, one thousand miles beyond the island of Sokotra, and of the large quantities of ivory which it exported. At an unspecified distance to the south was another independent, 'heathen' country, Zanzibar, also noted for ivory, for ambergris, since whales were plentiful in these seas, and giraffes, 'beautiful to look at', and much prized as exotic curiosities. Zanzibar was the limit of navigation to the south, 'for the sea current there flows so violently southwards that vessels could only return with the greatest difficulty'. He had, however, heard vague reports of the island of Madagascar, the home of the *roc*, the giant bird of Arab tradition, and of innumerable other islands in the Southern Ocean.

The only other African country which Polo described was the Coptic kingdom of Ethiopia, under its Arabic name of Abash (more accurately, Habesh). It was, he was told, a prosperous land of many cities, and of much gold. Menaced from the east by the Yemen and on the north by Nubia, it was constantly engaged in fighting for its existence.

Much of what Polo recorded was confirmed by the fourteenth-century Arab traveller, Ibn Battuta, who made the voyage from Malabar to China and back. He emphasized the strict control of foreign trade by Chinese officials, and the excellence of the junks built at Canton, thirteen of which he saw lying off Quilon, awaiting the summer monsoon to return to China. There were, he estimated, four thousand Moslem merchants on the Malabar coast, one of whom, Mithqual, was reputedly of vast wealth, with ships sailing to the Yemen and to China. Though the junks were Chinese, he specifically states that the crews were Moslem; one of the factors on the vessel in which he embarked was an Arab from Palestine. He, too, was impressed by the organization of the commerce; as the Hindu princes and their subjects were dependent to a high degree on the prosperity of the foreign trade, they were careful to encourage foreign merchants, to treat their clients impartially, to keep the peace among men of many nations, and not to exact too heavy tolls.

A little further light on the spice trade was thrown by the narratives of certain friars who visited Malabar on mission work, or in

some instances while travelling to China. In the main they substantiate Polo's reports on the commercial activity of the Malabar coast, the 'pepper forest', the great junks from China, and the wealth of Sumatra and Java. John of Montecorvino, en route to China where he was to be Archbishop of Peking, added some details of the distances involved. Malabar was approximately the same distance from Hormuz as Provence was from Acre, about two thousand miles, while China was as far from Malabar as England was from Acre. From a passage in Mandeville's *Travels* we learn that Genoese and Venetian merchants were travelling to Hormuz to purchase spices and other wares, as an alternative to Alexandria.

The result of this missionary activity in southern India is not clear. Friar Jourdain, Suffragan Bishop of Quilon, stated that he had made several hundred converts on his first visit, and ten thousand subsequently. He found there a community of 'St. Thomas Christians', that is Syrian Christians, whom he regarded as heretics. These Christians, tolerated by the Hindu ruler, were, he believed, the owners of 'pepper gardens'. They numbered several thousands when the Portuguese arrived. By that time, the Catholic community had ceased to exist, but the Church of St. George was still standing. Marignoli who later spent some time in Quilon stated that there was then a church of 'St. George of the Latin communion', in which he had preached the Holy Law, but he makes no reference to his predecessor's work.

Throughout the fourteenth century this well-organized commercial network continued to function, dependent upon a considerable degree of international co-operation. Its basis was a series of great ports, serving as entrepôts and also as outlets for regional production. These were, from west to east, Alexandria and Aden, controlled by Turco-Arabs; Hormuz, the Persian stronghold; the ports of the Malabar coast, ruled by Hindu princes, and having large Moslem colonies; the Malay kingdom of Malacca, also with a large Moslem colony, strategically placed on the main trade artery, the Malacca Strait; Java; and Canton, where imperial China maintained strict control of overseas trade. Each of these was the centre of a flourishing local trade; at the same time all were linked together, so that cloves from the Molucca islands and pepper from Malabar could be sold for consumption in the markets of China and of western Europe. This was the situation when, at the turn of the

century, the Mediterranean countries of Europe were increasingly concerned with the sources of the eastern merchandise which flowed to Alexandria and the Levant ports, and with the possibility of breaking the Venetian-Turkish monopoly. In following the subsequent course of events, the characteristics of the trade in the Indian Ocean and the eastern seas, which moulded the pattern of the Portuguese eastern empire, must constantly be borne in mind.

This prologue to the Portuguese voyages must end with an episode which influenced, if only negatively, their successful outcome—the great wave of Chinese expansion into the Indian Ocean. Under the direction of the Moslem court eunuch Cheng Ho, a series of naval expeditions were despatched to the west in the years after 1405. The motives were varied: a desire to recover trade, which was represented as a form of tribute; the reinforcement of the claim to universal authority; and a thirst for knowledge. These motives were interwoven: the collection of natural curiosities, for instance, particularly of exotic animals, was a symbol of imperial power, and also evidence of its wide range. The giraffe was held in particular regard; equated with the fabulous unicorn, it was imported from the countries around the Indian Ocean, and in the devious way of court flattery, the giraffe from the African wilderness, ‘as it strode into the Emperor’s court’, became the emblem of Ming supremacy.

These expeditions are recorded as involving tens of thousands of men and more than a hundred large junks each. In their course, they visited the Maldivé islands, Calicut and Hormuz. The fifth went even further, sailing to Aden and thence southwards along the African coast to Mogadishu and Malindi. During their course, a strong piratical fleet was destroyed off Sumatra, a new ruler was installed in Calicut, and the king of Ceylon was subjugated after a series of hard-fought battles.

The last expedition, in the years 1431 to 1433, has an especial interest. While it lay at Calicut, one Hung Po met a party of Moslem merchants who were about to leave on the return voyage to Mecca. With commendable initiative, he gathered together an interpreter and six men, and with musk and porcelain as gifts embarked on the Arab ship. A year later he was back with a cargo of precious stones, giraffes and other strange animals, and also a plan of the Ka’ba at

Mecca; he had clearly been to the ports of the Red Sea and eastern Africa.

Half a century later, Portuguese ships approached the same region from the south; by then the Ming urge to expansion had faded once more; the Portuguese were to encounter Chinese vessels not in Malindi or Aden but in the harbours of Malacca and Canton, three thousand miles to the east.

CHAPTER TWO

Portugal on the High Seas

THE EMERGENCE OF Portugal as the spearhead of overseas expansion was in part the consequence of her geographical position on the oceanic margin beyond the Strait of Gibraltar; and in part, of her militant spirit nurtured by long conflict with the Moors of North Africa.

In the main, however, her advance was one facet of the general economic development of western Europe. In common with other peoples on the western seaboard, Basques, Galicians, and Bretons, and, later, English and other northerners, Portugal exploited the fisheries of the North Atlantic, and built up a busy carrying trade between its ports. Lacking natural resources of great value, her people, small in numbers, became increasingly dependent upon this maritime activity, directed, from her geographical position, largely to the North African lands, after she had won her independence from the Moors. When the shortage of gold increasingly hindered the growth of European trade, she had an added incentive to probe the secrets of the African continent, while simultaneously waging a centuries-old struggle against the infidel Moslems. Throughout the fifteenth century, and indeed the sixteenth, Portuguese policy was as often directed to securing her position in North Africa, as it was to pursuing expansion overseas.

The first decisive step forward was an assault on Moorish power in North Africa when the fortress and port of Ceuta were seized in 1415. This victory marked the emergence of the man who for many years inspired and directed the overseas aggrandizement of Portugal, Prince Henry, 'the Navigator'. The third child of King John I and Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, was an enigmatic figure. What we know of his life and achievements is based largely on the statements of the court chronicler, Zurara, whose *Chronicle of Guinea* is virtually a pure panegyric on Henry's deeds. Thus his share in the

policy of expansion is emphasized at the expense of others who, in a period of domestic confusion, took a different view. Prominent among those was Prince Pedro, his brother and Regent of the kingdom. Pedro, who after a stormy career was slain at the battle of Aljubarrota, also had a wide knowledge of cosmography but was firmly against expansionist adventures in Africa, and, as far as his troubled regency allowed, encouraged overseas colonization to strengthen his country's economy.

But however much Henry's share may be minimized, that share remained predominant, and his policy was often carried on against considerable popular opposition. He, too, possessed a keen interest in new countries and in extending knowledge of the world in the spirit of the Renaissance. In the early years there was no thought of India as an objective; but towards the end of his career he looked forward to establishing contact with the 'middle India' of Prester John, Ethiopia, in the hope of finding an ally in the struggle with the Moors of North Africa. His immediate goal, apart from the colonization of the Atlantic islands, lay to the south. At Ceuta his merchants were in contact with the centuries-old traffic in the products of the western Sudan and the upper Niger basin, including alluvial gold. Since the trans-Saharan caravan routes were controlled by the Moors, the best hope of sharing in this wealth lay in opening up a sea route to its source. The later success of Portugal in building an empire in the East rested fundamentally upon the experience her seamen gained as they revealed the coasts of Africa under Henry's direction. It was not through book learning or advances in navigational instruments that Henry's captains contributed to the final triumph, the scientific advance was to come later. It was through contending daily with the hazards of the high seas and gaining an intimate knowledge of the winds and currents of the South Atlantic and of the intricacies of navigating unknown coastal waters. The experienced seamen and chart-makers whom Henry gathered around him were the forerunners of those who ultimately brought their ships to anchor off Calicut and Malacca. A further achievement of Henry's was to put overseas expansion on an economic basis. The islands, as they were discovered, were granted by the Crown to Prince Henry as Master of the Order of Christ, and to other court personages, on condition that they undertook to settle colonists there. The traffic with Guinea was a royal monopoly exercised by Henry, from which

he drew twenty per cent of the value of all goods imported into Portugal. Private adventurers were also allowed to participate on terms agreed with the Prince.

Strong efforts were made to prevent interlopers from other nations participating in the trade, a task made more difficult by the Spanish occupation of the Canary Islands after a long drawn-out dispute. Henry was also at pains to secure Papal sanction for Portuguese sovereignty over the newly discovered seas and lands, the Papal Bull of Nicholas V, in 1454, extending their rights *usque ad Indos*, 'as far as the Indians'. The following year, the scope was further defined in the Bull *Pontifex Romanus* as extending 'from Cape Bojador and Cape Nun through all Guinea, and passing beyond to the Southern parts'. But strictly speaking Henry's enterprises against the infidel were never canonical crusades.

Madeira and Porto Santo were 'rediscovered' in 1420, the Azores in 1427. Sugar-cane was successfully introduced into Madeira and later to the Azores, and the export became an important item in Portugal's economy. At the same time, the long progress along the African coast began, Cape Bojador being passed in 1434 and the Rio d'Oro two years later. Gradually a trade was built up, seal skins and oil coming from the Rio d'Oro, and small quantities of gold from the fort established at Arguim; and the fisheries in coastal waters were exploited. A halt then occurred when Portugal resumed a forward policy in North Africa. Wishing to strengthen her position in Ceuta and to counter Castilian aspirations in that quarter, Henry embarked on an assault on Tangier. The operation was a complete failure, and to extricate his army he was obliged to agree to surrender Ceuta to the Moors, giving his younger brother Ferdinand as a hostage. This action was indignantly repudiated by the Regency and the people at large, and Ferdinand was left to languish and die in Moorish hands. In these circumstances, Henry retired temporarily into the background (although later he redeemed his reputation by taking the fortress of Alcazar el Seguir from the Sultan of Morocco) while the Regent, as far as internal difficulties permitted, continued to encourage colonization and trade overseas.

After his brother's death, Henry's influence returned; his captains, sailing beyond Cape Verde to the estuary of the Gambia, had passed the arid Saharan coast to the equatorial forest zone and the populous 'land of the blacks'. A lively description of these people

was given by the Venetian explorer-merchant Alvise Cadamosto: 'In matters of which they have no experience, they are credulous and awkward, but in those to which they are accustomed they are the equal of our skilled men. They are talkative and never for a loss for something to say; in general they are great liars and cheats, but on the other hand, they are charitable, receiving strangers willingly, and providing a night's lodging and one or two meals without any charge.' Trade in local products increased, particularly that in slaves, obtained on the coast, at first from Moorish raiding parties, later from warring tribes. When Prince Henry died in 1460, his men had found the Cape Verde Islands and were passing beyond Sierra Leone.

At this point, Portuguese policy took a significant turn—the pioneering of a sea route to India in a bid to control the spice trade at its source. With this in view, consultations were initiated between Lisbon and the rival republics of Venice and Florence, also vitally interested in the future of the trade. It is evident that in the preceding half-century Italians were once again travelling in the East, and returning with up-to-date reports on its commerce. From an inscription on Martin Behaim's globe of 1492, we learn that a certain Bartholomew the Florentine returned from extensive journeys in the East in 1424 and related his experiences to Pope Eugene IV. The note, somewhat brief and confused, lists the various hands through which the spices and other products passed 'in the islands of oriental India before they reach our country': traders in the island of Java purchased them from neighbouring islanders and sold them to other traders in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula, who carried them to Ceylon and the Malabar coast. There they were purchased by Moslem merchants from Aden, who conveyed them to Cairo and Alexandria along the route described by Marco Polo. Acquired by Italian merchants, Venetians being in the majority, they were then conveyed to Venice and carried over the Alps to Frankfurt and the Low Countries. In the course of transit, custom duties of ten per cent were levied no less than twelve times, which accounted for the exorbitant prices the Venetians were charged at Alexandria.

Some twenty years later, another returned traveller, Nicolo Conti, was closely cross-examined on what he had seen during his many years in the East by the Florentine humanist Poggio Bracciolini, who recorded the results in his *Chronicle*. Adopting Persian dress, and having acquired a knowledge of the language, Conti travelled as a

merchant via Hormuz to the Malabar coast; visited Vijayanagar, the Hindu kingdom of southern India and the countries around the Bay of Bengal; and finally reached Sumatra, where he married and raised a family. His later journeys on business were confined mainly to that island and to its neighbour, Java. He was able, however, to obtain some information about the islands to the east, which produced the cloves: 'At fifteen days sail beyond Java two other islands are found, the one is called Sandai, in which nutmegs and mace grow; the other is named Bandan; this is the only island in which cloves grow, which are exported hence to the Java islands . . . The sea is not navigated beyond them and the stormy atmosphere keeps sailors at a distance.' Bandan must clearly be one of the Molucca islands.

Among countries first described by Conti were: Vijayanagar, where he was astonished at the pomp maintained by the king, who was, he thought, more powerful than all the other kings of India; Burma, where he ascended the Irrawaddy River to the ancient capital; and the Ganges Plain, with the river banks lined with charming villas, plantations, and gardens. He had little to report directly on China, but he probably included that country in his general account of 'the Third India', all the lands to the east of the Ganges which 'excel the others in richness, politeness and magnificence, and are equal to our own country in the style of life and in civilization'. The people were humane and the merchants very rich, 'so much so that some will carry on their business in forty of their own ships, each of which is valued at fifty thousand gold pieces'. In his description of these vessels he confirmed all that Marco Polo had written.

From sources such as these, cosmographers like Paolo Toscanelli and cartographers like Fra Mauro of Murano were able to form a more accurate concept of eastern lands, and to pass the information on to the Portuguese. During the years 1456-60, Fra Mauro was receiving payments from the Portuguese Crown while working on a large map of the world. This map was sent to Lisbon, and afterwards disappeared, but a magnificent copy can be seen in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice. Although Fra Mauro made considerable use of Marco Polo for his representation of eastern Asia and the Indian sub-continent, he also incorporated much of the information provided by Conti on the kingdom of Vijayanagar, on the wealth of Java, and on the eastern islands of 'Sandai et Bandan'.

Details from other sources included a trade route between Burma and China, and the Maldiva and Andaman Islands, obtained from Arab sailing directions. All this must have excited the interest of the Portuguese and spurred them to undertake the 'plan of the Indies'. On the problem of how to reach this 'new world', Fra Mauro was equally encouraging. He drew Africa as a triangle, with its southern apex turned eastwards, to the south of the island of Madagascar. On the east coast a number of ports from Mogadishu to Sofala were inserted. As the Southern Ocean flowed around the 'habitable and temperate zone', there was no obstacle to navigation from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. This conclusion was supported by a map-legend concerning a ship of India which in far southern waters had been driven westwards for twenty days by strong winds, and had with difficulty battled its way back. Thus Fra Mauro, having completely abandoned the concept of the Indian Ocean as a land-locked sea, was encouraging the Portuguese to persevere in their search for a passage.

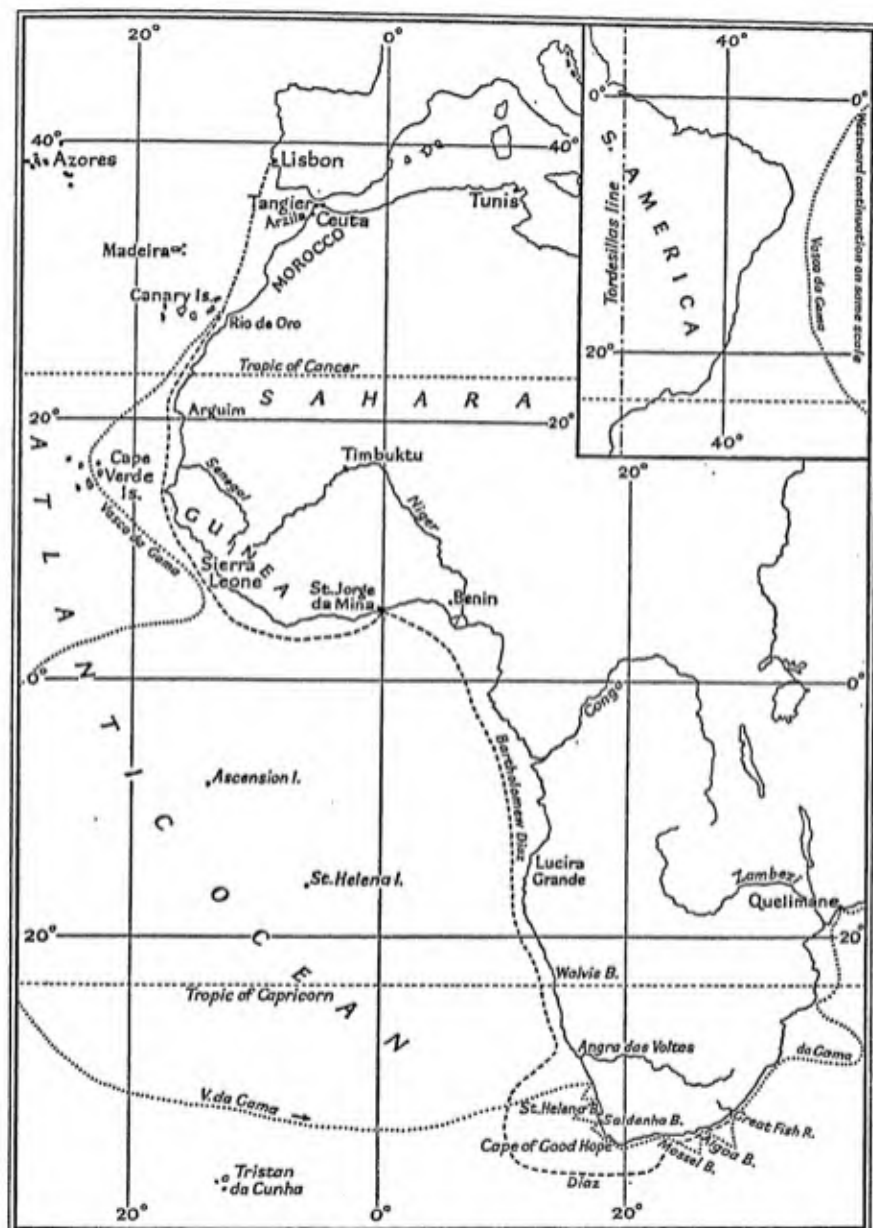
Shortly after this map reached Lisbon, there were further consultations, this time with the Florentine, Paolo da Pozzi Toscanelli. From a letter written by him to a Canon Martins, one of King Affonso's councillors, it appears that Toscanelli had been asked for his opinion on the shortest way to the spice islands, illustrated by a chart. 'As on many occasions,' he wrote, 'I have reasoned about the shortest way which leads from here to the Indies where the spices grow, which I consider to be much shorter than that which you are following via Guinea. You tell me that His Majesty asks for a declaration, or visual demonstration, so that he may comprehend it, and whether it is possible to follow the said route . . . I have decided to demonstrate it with a chart similar to those used in navigation.' This chart, he continued, had on the east the coasts of Europe and Africa as far south as Guinea, and on the west the coast of Asia with Cipangu and many other Asian islands. He did not compare the two routes directly, giving some figures for his western route only. From Lisbon to the famous city of Quinsay in eastern Asia the distance was only 6,500 miles; from the island 'which you know as Antilia' to Cipangu was not more than 2,500 miles. The only inference to be drawn from these wildly inaccurate figures was that it was more than 6,500 miles from Lisbon via Africa to India of the spices.

Toscanelli's advice was rejected, no doubt because the Portuguese realized that his figure for the distance westwards from Europe to eastern Asia was an absurd underestimate. In adopting the alternative, African, route, the Portuguese must also have been influenced by the consideration that the African trade had become highly profitable—they had reached sources of alluvial gold on the 'Gold Coast'—and they were becoming convinced that their seamen were at last approaching the Indian Ocean; also that they could inflict more injury on the Moors in the waters off Ethiopia than they could by sailing away westwards in pursuit of that shadowy figure, the Great Khan.

Progress southwards was not at first immediate, because King Affonso was involved in the Castilian war of succession. On account of this preoccupation, the Crown handed over the conduct of the Guinea trade to a prominent merchant, Fernão Gomes; in return for a large sum he obtained a monopoly for five years, on condition that he promoted the discovery of one hundred leagues of coast each year. By the end of that period his men had penetrated far into the Gulf of Guinea. By the Treaty of Alcaçovas which concluded the war with Castile in 1479, Portugal gave up her claims to the Canary Islands, receiving in return recognition of her rights over Madeira, the Azores, the Cape Verde Islands and discoveries to the south. The Crown then resumed the direction of the overseas enterprise and placed it in the capable hands of the Infante John* who, on his succession as King John II, continued to act with determination and great political skill. To reach the Indies was henceforward the main-spring of national policy and, though he did not live to see it, John was the architect of the final triumph. To the seamen and merchants who carried out his plans he added scientists to solve the problems of navigation south of the Equator, where the Arctic Pole star was no longer visible. In order to circumvent this difficulty, Jose Vizinho and other astronomers evolved a method of observing the altitude of the sun at noon, with a quadrant or astrolabe, and then applying the appropriate declination, obtained from the tables which they had calculated. This method was used to observe latitudes in Guinea in 1485, on what was the first overseas scientific expedition of modern times.

King John's immediate action was to strengthen his control by

* He was nicknamed the 'Perfect Prince'.



The Routes of Dias and da Gama to the Cape

establishing the fortress and trading station of S. Jorge del Mina on the Gulf of Guinea at a good landing place and close to sources of alluvial gold. S. Jorge also served not only as a base for operations against foreign interlopers but as an advanced post for further progress in discovery. The following year, 1482, Diogo Cão, a trusted captain well experienced in navigation along the Guinea coast, was despatched with three caravels on what the King hoped would be the final stage of the way to India. Passing Cape St. Catherine, Cão was at first encouraged by the south-east trend of the coast, but it swung away again and he found himself off the estuary of a vast river with fresh water running a great way out to sea—the Zaire or Congo. Cão made contact with the neighbouring Bantu and set up a stone *padrão** on the southern point of the estuary before continuing southwards. Coasting some 550 miles without sighting a break, he set up his second *padrão* at Cape Lobo. Beyond the Cape he saw a stretch of water running away out of sight to the east, which he apparently took to be the termination, at long last, of the continent. Without waiting to verify this he turned for home, reaching Lisbon after an absence of two years. Cão's news that he had reached the extremity of Africa secured him a triumphant reception and the King accorded him special honours. His report spread rapidly, and the King's envoy Vasco Fernandes hopefully declared to the Papal court: 'In fact, our men, having discovered an enormous part of the African coast, last year came near to the Prassum promontory, where the Arabian Sea begins.'

King John did not hesitate, and within a year Cão was off again. The easterly passage proved a delusion; what he had earlier seen was merely a great bay, the Luciera Grande. Doggedly he pushed on for another 600 miles, setting up his last *padrão* at Cape Cross. There he probably died, though the evidence for this is debatable. Certainly, however, he disappears from the scene at this point and there is no evidence that he was with his ships when they returned to Lisbon. It may be that, disgraced in the eyes of his King, he retired into obscurity.

Nothing daunted, and determined to bring the affair of India to a head, John organized a two-pronged attack, one to the east, whither he despatched Pero de Covilhã to reconnoitre the Indian Ocean, and a second to complete Cão's exploration. The latter

* A stone column on which were carved the royal arms of Portugal.

expedition was placed under the command of Bartolomeu Dias, of whom little is known, but who was clearly a bold seaman. With him went his brother Diogo and a skilled pilot João Infante. Preparations were made for a long voyage, the fleet consisting of two caravels and a store ship which could be left at a point on the African coast until the others returned. The fleet made a relatively fast voyage and after four months were 1,000 miles beyond Cão's furthest point. The prevailing winds from the south-east growing stronger, Dias took the bold decision to stand out to the south-west to circumvent them, just as those sailing home from the Guinea coast sailed out into the Atlantic to get round the north-easterlies. After some days, when he judged that he had made a considerable distance to the south, he turned eastwards, running before the strong westerlies. Since he had not recovered the African coast, he then stood to the north and made a landfall on the mainland in the vicinity of Mossel Bay. Seeing the coast running away to the east, he realized that he had at last passed the southern extremity of Africa, and that the way to India was open. He then coasted eastwards to Algoa Bay, where his men protested that they had sailed far enough for safety, but he persuaded them to continue for a few more days. As he proceeded to his furthest point, in the vicinity of the Great Fish River, he encountered a warm current flowing southwards which confirmed his belief that he was entering the Indian Ocean. On his return he set up a *padrão* on Kwaii Hoek, east of Algoa Bay; named Cape Agulhas and the Cape of Good Hope, and putting in at the Angra das Voltas, picked up the store ship. By the summer of 1498, he was back in Lisbon, with the assurance that India was within his sovereign's grasp.

Meanwhile in the east, Covilhã was pursuing a task for which he was well equipped as a man who had served King John's father faithfully and who had already been employed on commercial and diplomatic missions to the Moorish kingdoms of North Africa, where he had acquired a good knowledge of Arabic. Much importance was attached to his mission; Covilhã and his companion, de Paiva, conferred with the King's geographical advisers, the Bishop of Viseu, an authority on cosmography, and two astronomers, Master Rodrigo and Master Moyses; the heir to the throne, Dom Manuel, was also present. These men provided the travellers with a chart which they had extracted from a map of the world. What this world map

was we do not know. If it reproduced the outlines of the Fra Mauro map it cannot have proved of great use to them; more likely, it was of the Catalan type, derived from the Catalan Atlas of a century earlier. Covilhã's instructions were to deliver letters to the Emperor of Ethiopia, and to obtain information on that country, to supplement the vague reports which had come to the King from his captains in West Africa. But his main purpose was to discover 'where cinnamon is to be found, and the other spices which from those parts went to Venice through the countries of the Moors'.

Setting out in May 1487, Covilhã and his companion travelled to Cairo as merchants, furnished with letters of credit on Florentine bankers. There, adopting Arab dress, they joined a company of merchants from Fez, with whom they proceeded down the Red Sea to Aden. They then separated, Paiva crossing to the Ethiopian coast with the letters for the Emperor, while Covilhã waited for the monsoon season to embark for India. Beyond the statement that he visited Cannanore, Calicut, and Goa, and then sailed north to Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, nothing is known of his visit to Malabar but, in the circumstances, he must have acquired a first-hand knowledge of the manner in which the trade was conducted, and the sources of the products. From Hormuz he sailed to Zeila in Ethiopia, an important centre for East African trade; and, no doubt on an Arab merchant ship, continued along the coast visiting the Arab trading centres as far south as Sofala, the limit of Arab influence. On this journey he could not but learn that it was common practice for the Arab merchants to sail with the monsoon direct from these ports to the Malabar coast.

From this reconnaissance in the Indian Ocean Covilhã returned to Cairo sometime in 1491, to learn that de Paiva was dead. Fortunately, he succeeded in contacting two messengers from King John, the Rabbi Abraham of Beja, and Joseph, the 'shoemaker of Lamego'. If, the messages ran, he had successfully accomplished his mission, he was welcome to return to Portugal, but, no doubt in view of the fact that Dias had succeeded in entering the Indian Ocean, the King was particularly anxious to have as much information as possible on Ethiopia. Since de Paiva was dead, Covilhã felt obliged to investigate that country himself. Joseph, who had previously been in Baghdad, had impressed King John with the reports he had gathered about Hormuz, and it was with the object of visiting

that city that the Rabbi had been sent out. Joseph was accordingly sent back direct to Lisbon with Covilhã's report which informed the King 'how he had found cinnamon and pepper in the city of Calicut, and that cloves came from beyond, but that all could be had there, and that he had been in the cities of Cannanore, Calicut and Goa, all on the coast; and to this they could navigate by their coast and the seas of Guinea, coming to make the coast of Sofala, to which he had also gone, or a great island which the Moors call the Island of the Moon; they say that it has three hundred leagues of coast, and that from each of these lands one can fetch the coast of Calicut'. The great island was Madagascar.

Having dispatched Joseph, Covilhã accompanied the Rabbi to Hormuz and, travelling via Mecca, Mount Sinai, Tor and Aden, he sailed for Zeila to deliver the royal messages in Ethiopia. He was well received by the Emperor, who, however, refused to allow him to leave the country. Thirty years later, when a Portuguese mission arrived, he was still living there contentedly, with a wife and family. It is to Father Alvarez of this mission, that we owe the sole report of Covilhã's extensive itinerary around the Indian Ocean. He still retained vivid memories of this experience, relating them to Alvarez 'as if they were present before him'.

King John had now seen his policy justified, and it remained to send out one more expedition to crown it with success. Preparations were at once begun, but John did not live to see its departure. That a decade should have elapsed between the return of Dias and the despatch of Vasco da Gama in 1497, was due to developments in the international situation which demanded the attention of John and his successor, Manuel.

The return of Christopher Columbus in 1493 from the West Indies had raised the possibility, however remote, that the Castilians might forestall Portugal in Indian waters, and that these discoveries might threaten her position in the Atlantic Ocean, for it was clear that, with Columbus's success and the overthrow of the Moorish kingdom of Granada, Spain was also entering upon a period of expansion. John was therefore fully occupied with securing his position through the negotiations with Spain, which he conducted with great skill and determination, leading to the Treaty of Tordesillas. Under its terms the two sovereigns agreed upon a meridian, 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, as a dividing line between

their spheres of activity: all lands already discovered, or to be discovered, to the east of the line would remain Portuguese, all those beyond, that is, to the west, would belong to their Catholic Majesties. King John thereby secured the confirmation of his suzerainty over the eastern Atlantic, thus safeguarding his route via the Cape, and also, less clearly, its extension eastwards into Indian waters. On John's death, King Manuel, although committed to the plan of the Indies—he had participated in the preparations for Covilhã's journey—required time to establish himself on the throne, and to take a grip on the direction of affairs. It must also have been obvious to him from Covilhã's reports that to break the Arab monopoly in the Indian Ocean was not an undertaking to be lightly entered upon, and that the expedition would require thorough organization, turning to account the experiences of Cão and Dias, and of the trained seamen and navigators whose knowledge of the Atlantic and its navigational problems was increasing from year to year.

These political events explain satisfactorily the interval between the return of Dias and the despatch of da Gama. Some historians, however, believe that the Portuguese continued during this period to make voyages to the East, one entering the Indian Ocean and reaching Sofala in 1495-96. The sole support for this argument is a statement in a work by Ibn Majid, the celebrated Arab pilot who later conducted da Gama from Malindi to Calicut. In a reference to Sofala he states that 'Franks', in other words Portuguese, had been wrecked on nearby shoals. He does not date this incident, but elsewhere he says that the Portuguese were off Sofala in the year 900 of the Hejira (1495-96). There would seem to be some confusion here with the date of da Gama's voyage, for he goes on to refer to the second Indian voyage and to date it correctly. No other contemporary source refers to a voyage as early as 1495.*

Naval affairs may also have helped to prolong the interval, for thought and time were given to the design and construction of ships to carry the equipment and stores necessary for a long voyage on the high seas. King John had certainly considered the problems, and had gone to great pains in securing supplies of suitable timber.

* The case for this pre-Gama voyage is set out at length by Professor Jaime Cortesão (*A política de sigilo nos descobrimentos*, Ch. IV). From this he develops the hypothesis that da Gama was given command of the 1498 voyage because he had led the earlier one. The theory is rejected by Eric Axelson (*Geogr. Journ.* 127 (1961), 153).

Throughout the century there had been considerable changes in the construction of ships, particularly in their size. Where vessels of 400 tons had been common in the first half of the century, there were many of 600 tons in the closing decade. The design of warships was also changing, to meet the conditions of Atlantic, rather than Mediterranean, navigation. The Mediterranean oared galley was giving way to three-masted, square-rigged sailing vessels, and to an increasing extent reliance was being placed upon artillery for their armament. After a period when the aim had been to produce very large cannon mainly for use against fortifications on land, the construction of smaller cast bronze cannon which could be accommodated on shipboard had been developed. The new ships of war therefore relied upon their sailing qualities, manœuvrability, and gun power, where the galleys had employed ramming and boarding techniques to overcome their opponents. These new methods of naval warfare stood the Portuguese in good stead in Indian waters, where, although the Turks had developed siege artillery, they still relied upon the galley, which was vulnerable to gun fire, and totally unsuitable for ramming their opponents. A further advance was made about 1500, when gun-ports were cut in the hulls; this not only increased the number of guns which could be mounted but also the damage which could be inflicted on the enemy.

These changes in the type of war vessels did not mean that the use of caravels, the light, manœuvrable vessels, drawing little water, which had been indispensable in navigating the coastal waters of Africa, was abandoned, for the India fleets included a proportion of them; armed with light guns, they were invaluable for reconnaissance and for sounding the approaches to harbours. The equipment and construction of ships for the Indian voyage was a special interest of King John who was well acquainted with contemporary advances in naval matters, and with the importance of guns and gunnery. The chronicler Resende commented that 'the King used to spend much money in building great vessels manned with guns'. These early fleets must have required a considerable capital investment on the part of the Crown. The guns for example were mostly imported from Antwerp; later when that city was the staple for the spice trade the profits from the Indian voyages eased the situation, and bankers like the Fuggers, involved in other aspects of it, became large exporters of cannon to Portugal. Thus the success of the

voyages, as also the science of navigation and ship-building, owed much to fifteenth-century technological advances in western Europe.

For all these reasons the crucial expedition was not ready until the summer of 1497.

CHAPTER THREE

Vasco da Gama Reaches Calicut

ON THE MORNING of July 8, 1497, Vasco da Gama and his captains, having passed the previous night in vigil in the House of Our Lady of Belem, walked with tapers in their hands and accompanied by priests and friars down to the Tagus at Belem; around them surged a great company of people chanting the responses to the Litany. At the riverside, all knelt while the Vicar of the monastery made a general confession and absolved those who might die in the course of the voyage. Then amid the cheers and tears of the crowd, the Captain-major was rowed out to the flagship of the little fleet lying in the estuary. The voyage for 'the discovery of the navigation of India', already pioneered as far as the Cape of Good Hope by Bartolomeu Dias, had begun.

At this moment, da Gama emerges from obscurity. Precisely why King Manuel entrusted him with this undertaking, so vital to the prosperity of Portugal, is not known. According to one chronicler, the command came to Vasco almost by default, the late King John having offered it to Estevan da Gama, the father, and on his death to the elder son Paulo. In declining the post, Paulo agreed to serve under his brother Vasco, whom Manuel had then appointed.

Da Gama, about forty years of age, was of good but not noble descent, and had served the Crown in certain naval matters. 'A discrete man, of good understanding and of great courage', he received the full confidence and support of his king who gave him a free hand in fitting out the two vessels specially built for this expedition. The *S. Rafael* and the *S. Gabriel* were strongly built, flat-bottomed, and square-rigged, to withstand the storms expected off the Cape. They were accompanied by the *Berrio*, a lateen-rigged vessel of some fifty tons, of the type used for inshore reconnaissance of the African coasts, and also by a store-ship. The crews, numbering in all about 170, had been chosen with care. Many of them had

served with Dias when he had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, and had been given further instruction in their various trades. The Captain-major took the *S. Rafael* as his flagship; with him was the chief pilot, Pero d'Alenquer, who had served in that capacity with Dias, and later in the Congo. Paulo was captain in the *S. Gabriel*, and Nicolas Coelho, a close friend of Vasco's and perhaps the best seaman in the fleet, commanded the *Berrio*. Also on the rolls were three priests, a sailor with some knowledge of Arabic and a slave from the Congo as interpreters, and ten convicted men, to be employed as scouts and hostages in foreign parts. After the Cape of Good Hope had been passed, the ships would be in unknown waters, when the plan was to sail northwards as close to the coast as possible, consequently relying on skilful seamen rather than on the pilots; this at least appears to lie behind the chronicler's statement: 'Thenceforward there would not be navigation by latitude nor charts: only the needle [that is, the magnetic compass] to know the points of the compass, and the sounding plummets for running down the coasts, and knowledge of the lands and a good estimation by means of the good judgement which God gave him [da Gama].' The arduous nature of the expedition was also predicted in the careful attention to equipment and stores. These were calculated to last for three years, and included a small amount of bullion, merchandise and gifts for kings and officials, not forgetting samples of a variety of spices for use in opening up trade in those commodities.

A number of *padrões* were also taken, to be set up as tokens of Portuguese dominion over newly discovered lands.

Greater foresight and efficiency had not previously been displayed on any overseas expedition—it was all in marked contrast, for example, to the hurried and troubled preparations for Columbus's first voyage five years earlier.

The voyage to the Cape Verde Islands, already much frequented, went smoothly, apart from time lost in fog off the Saharan coast, and the squadron assembled at the rendezvous in the harbour of S. Thiago after fourteen days. The exact course is nowhere precisely described. It is clear, however, that da Gama, profiting from Dias's experience, had no intention of contending with contrary winds and currents in the Gulf of Guinea and of creeping slowly along the African coast, for he had no time to waste at the start of his long voyage to India and back. Instead, after sailing southwards

to the Equator, he stood boldly out to the high sea to avoid the doldrums and to sail round the south-east trade winds. Having made sufficient southing and entering the belt of strong westerly winds he set a course eastwards approximately along the parallel of the Cape.

Some 2,700 miles out, large flocks of birds were seen flying to the south-east as though towards land, perhaps to the island of Tristan da Cunha. Ten days later the African coast was sighted in approximately 30 degrees South latitude, 250 miles north of the Cape. Pero d'Alenquer failed to recognize the locality immediately, but three days later he found good anchorage in St. Helena Bay, 190 miles further south. There they remained eight days, careening and watering the ships. The tawny-coloured natives, dressed in skins, who appeared to exist on fish and honey, were given the usual trinkets and trifles, but in a minor scuffle, the Captain-major and several men were wounded.

On November 18 they sighted the Cape, which they rounded after three attempts and anchored in Mossel Bay, where they spent another thirteen days transferring supplies from the store-ship, which was then broken up. More contacts were made with the Bantu; in general, relations with them were friendly, though cautious, on both sides. It was noted that whenever a crowd assembled on the shore the younger men with their weapons remained in the bush on the alert. The chronicler Correa relates how, one morning, 200, bringing with them oxen and sheep, came down to meet a party from the ships. As the Portuguese landed, 'they forthwith began to play on four or five flutes, some producing high notes and others low, thus making a pretty harmony . . . and danced in the negro style. The Captain-major then ordered the trumpets to be sounded and we in the boats danced, and the Captain-major did likewise when he rejoined us'.

After this festivity the Portuguese exchanged three bracelets for a fat black ox which furnished their Sunday dinner and was pronounced to be as good eating as the beef of Portugal. As they left this haven they saw the negroes busily dismantling the *padrão* which they had just set up. Not long afterwards, they passed a similar *padrão* marking the furthest point reached by Bartolomeu Dias, near the Great Fish River. Though the people had little else to offer, they gave the strangers to understand that inland there was

gold in abundance. On December 12, the ships weathered a strong westerly gale and stood off shore. Since they passed Christmas Day off this stretch of coast, they gave the name *Terra do Natal* to the new land.

They were now well past the southern promontory of the continent, off a totally unknown coast, facing new weather and oceanographical conditions, frequent onshore winds and a strong southerly current flowing between the island of Madagascar and the mainland, which on one occasion carried the fleet sixty miles to the south. They accordingly stood out to sea for two weeks, afraid of finding himself on a lee shore, and fighting to make nothing. This was in fact the critical moment of the outward voyage, with the crews muttering and plotting against the officers, as Dias's men had done at the limit of their voyage. They had some reason for their uneasiness in view of the storms encountered, and many were suffering from scurvy. Da Gama met the crisis with a mixture of firmness and guile. Putting the master, the pilot and the three best seamen in the flagship in irons, he harangued the crew and, it is related, threw all the navigating instruments overboard, declaring them unnecessary, since 'God is master and pilot'. The men were then released and told that they would be suitably dealt with on their return to Portugal. It seems unlikely that a master of navigation would behave in this rash manner and it may be that the story reflects the notion that having reached the south-eastern shores of Africa they would be guided in future by the run of the coastline.

Having asserted his authority, da Gama continued coasting to the mouth of the Savoru River where he stayed a few days. Again the people were friendly, exchanging copper for shirts and other oddments. Two sailors made a short excursion inland, and after passing a night in a 'compound' were sent back by the people the next day. The Portuguese then began to hear reports of more civilized people to the north, and the natives were observed to have articles such as ivory-mounted daggers. On account of their friendly welcome, the land was named '*Terra da Boã Gente*', Land of the good people. Da Gama's hopes of reaching civilized settlements were now rising. The southern limit of Arab influence on the coast was the town of Sofala, but perhaps because he first wished to get his fleet in better trim, or for navigational reasons, he passed this port well to the east, despite Covilhã's report of its gold, and on January 24 dropped

anchor in the wide mouth of the Kilimani River, where he remained for a full thirty-one days. The ships were again careened, repairs effected and supplies of water replenished. But, most important of all, those suffering from scurvy—thirty men had already died of it—were able to recuperate. Da Gama was also encouraged to find among those who flocked to gaze at the strangers a young man from a distant country 'who had already seen big ships like ours', perhaps in the Mediterranean. Before leaving, he set up another *padrão*. The small fleet then coasted cautiously northwards towards Mozambique, the next considerable settlement, lying-to at night. En route, they seized a Moorish trader from a boat. This man, sometimes referred to as Davane, is said to have proved very useful by acting as a broker in dealings with Indian merchants.

On March 2 they anchored off the town of Mozambique. At first the Sheikh received them amicably, though he was contemptuous of their gifts—he asked particularly for scarlet cloth, which they were unable to supply. From the crews of four Arab dhows then in the harbour the interpreter, Fernão Martins, learnt much about the country trade. These vessels had cargoes of cloves, pepper, and other spices and a variety of jewels, all of which must have been obtained in India, and which they were trading for gold. Martins also gathered information about the lands to the north, particularly the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, the home of the legendary Prester John, from two Indian slaves whom the Portuguese took to be Christians. All these pleasantries ended when the Moors realized that the newcomers were not Moslems but Christians, and therefore a potential threat to their trade. However the Sheikh agreed to provide them with two pilots.

Da Gama, who had withdrawn to a small island some miles away, was about to sail on, when he received a message to return to Mozambique immediately. But by now he was suspicious of the Moors' intentions. The Captain-major fired off his guns defiantly and put out to sea the next day. The ships were driven well to the south but eventually made the harbour again. Disputes then broke out over the use of certain watering-places, and in anger da Gama bombarded the town for three hours, doing considerable but unspecified damage. Finally, with a favourable wind, they put to sea after several minor encounters.

Ten days later they anchored off Mombasa where at first they

were graciously received, although it was apparent that news of their conduct at Mozambique had already reached the town. Rather naïvely in the circumstances, da Gama accepted an invitation to enter the port. Owing to a mishap at the entrance the Moors took alarm, and the native pilots escaped by jumping overboard. Under cover of darkness, many natives swam out to the ships and attempted to cut cables and rigging but were driven off before inflicting serious damage. Da Gama meanwhile was engaged in torturing two Moors by dropping boiling oil on their skin, to extract a confession of treachery. The unfortunate men admitted that it was the intention to seize the ships when they entered the port, and then threw themselves overboard although their hands were tied. Two days passed without further incidents before the ships sailed for Malindi. On the way another dhow was seized with seventeen on board, including an elderly Moor of distinction and his young wife.

Unlike the other ports visited, Malindi was Persian rather than Arab in character and had an independent king. The Portuguese were much impressed with its appearance and setting: 'The houses are lofty and well whitewashed, and have many windows; to landward are palm groves, and all around maize and vegetables are grown', all of which reminded them of their distant homeland. The son of the king, who was incapacitated, welcomed them warmly, the elderly Moor acting as interpreter, but da Gama, growing a little more wary, twice refused a pressing invitation to visit him ashore. Interviews were at last arranged, the Captain-major in his boat just offshore and the ruler in a palanquin at the edge of the sea. Da Gama's reluctance to land was due to a warning from Indian traders that the Moors were not sincere in their protestations of friendship. This was probably not disinterested for they had their own reasons for fearing too cordial relations between the Portuguese and the men of Malindi. Da Gama also believed that he had deliberately been prevented from making contact with certain Abyssinians in the town. Nevertheless, the king was sincere in his overtures for friendship and in fact gave most valuable assistance which went far to assure the success of the whole enterprise, entertaining members of the crews and allowing them to replenish their stores. In particular he had several tanks made from timber joined together with coir twine and caulked with pitch which were installed in the ships and proved to be more watertight than the customary

water barrels. But most important of all, he provided a skilled pilot for the crossing of the Indian Ocean. The chroniclers call this man Malemo Cana, but it has been shown that this was a corrupt form of his title, 'master of astronomical navigation', and he was in fact one of the leading Arab pilots of the day and the author of numerous navigational treatises and sailing directions, Ahmad Ibn-Majid. That the King of Malindi should have persuaded so distinguished a pilot to assist—indeed that he should have been on the spot at precisely the right moment—was certainly fortunate for da Gama. Later, when the consequences of the Portuguese intrusion into the Indian Ocean were only too clear to the Arabs, the story was circulated that Ibn-Majid had made his bargain in a bout of drunkenness.

Despite local warnings that the right season for the crossing was some weeks away—the south-west monsoon not being due until July—da Gama was now eager to depart, and after further festivities he put to sea, carrying with him a royal officer seized at the last moment as a hostage for one of the convicted men. Despite the warnings against haste, the crossing to India was uneventful, no doubt due to Ibn-Majid's skill, and the sight of the North Star once again above the horizon served to raise the crews' spirits. After twenty-one days at sea and having passed through the Maldive archipelago, they sighted at a distance of twenty-four miles the coast of southern India with the lofty wooded slopes of Mount Eli in the background. Owing to poor visibility, Ibn-Majid was at first unable to recognize their precise position, but two days later he brought them to an anchorage off a village seven miles to the north of their objective, the city of Calicut.

There da Gama remained several days while the astonished ruler of Calicut, generally referred to as the Zamorin, pondered the next step. Calicut was then the centre of a small, semi-independent state, nominally subject to the great Vijayanagar kingdom of southern India. As the most considerable trading port on the Malabar coast it was frequented by merchants and skippers from countries as far apart as Arabia and China. The Zamorin had thus a more acute problem to face than the rulers of the East African coast.

After some days spent impatiently awaiting the Zamorin's response, da Gama attempted to enter the harbour, but the Zamorin, taking no risks, had the ships conducted to the anchorage at

Pandarani, thirteen miles away to the north. The next day da Gama sent João Nunez, a converted Jew who spoke some Arabic, to endeavour to open negotiations with the Zamorin at Calicut. There he encountered two Moors, one of whom, Moncaide, knew a little Castilian. 'The first greeting that Nunez received was in these words: "May the devil take thee! What brought you thither?"' They asked what he sought so far away from home, and he replied that 'we came in search of Christians and spices'. After being hospitably entertained, Nunez returned with the Moor who, on boarding the flagship, exclaimed: 'A lucky adventure, a lucky venture! Plenty of rubies, plenty of emeralds. You owe great thanks to God for having brought you to a country of such riches.'

Negotiations with the Zamorin were promptly opened, but another week passed before da Gama, accompanied by thirteen of his men, set out for Calicut, borne in a palanquin and welcomed by great crowds along the road. In the city countless people crowded the streets, windows and housetops, so much so that his escort was obliged to force a way into the royal palace. After a long ceremonious audience with the Zamorin, da Gama was lodged suitably in the city. The next morning he displayed the presents he had brought for the ruler but the court officers, scornful of their value, refused to deliver them, and da Gama had to idle the day away. Not so his companions. Full of high spirits at having reached their destination, they made merry: 'We diverted ourselves, singing and dancing to the sound of trumpets, and enjoyed ourselves much.' Their feelings of relief were also due to their idea that they were among Christians. On the way through the city they had been shown a temple and a small image inside, to which the Indians did reverence. This the Portuguese took to be the Virgin Mary, an impression further strengthened when priests threw holy water over it. This comforting belief was not dispelled when they saw other 'saints' painted on the walls—'with teeth protruding an inch from the mouth, and four or five arms'.

Before the audience on the next day, da Gama was kept waiting at the door for four hours. After a long interview, at which the Zamorin was courteous though still disappointed over the poor quality of the gifts, da Gama obtained permission to bring ashore what merchandise he had and to sell it as best he could. Returning to Pandarani, he and his companions had great difficulty in finding boats to take them out to the ships, but were finally

allowed to go aboard, and to send their goods ashore. As there were few buyers at Pandarani, they were eventually allowed to send the residue to Calicut. The crews were also sent ashore in small groups to barter their own goods; they were well received by the hospitable people who flocked to see the strangers, many boarding the ships to offer fish in exchange for bread. To encourage them the Captain-major saw to it that they were well treated and given food.

While this fraternizing with the Indian populace was going on, the Moors brought great pressure on the Zamorin to break with the Portuguese. At first they ridiculed the quality of the merchandise and then threatened that if friendship with the Portuguese were established, there would be no more traders from Arabia or Persia and the Portuguese would ultimately take over the whole country. No doubt because he was hoping that his dilemma would be solved by the arrival of the powerful annual trading fleet from the north, the Zamorin continued to be outwardly conciliatory, while declining to give special trade privileges to the Portuguese. Da Gama had also got wind of the expected arrival and, having decided to collect what goods and spices he could and to carry away with him a number of Indians to prove that he had succeeded in reaching India, was increasingly anxious to leave. The Zamorin however refused permission to sail until a large indemnity was paid. Da Gama promptly declined, whereupon the small party of his men in charge of the merchandise in Calicut were detained. At the same time, Moncaide the Moor having reported more rumours of intended treachery, Da Gama seized twelve Indians of quality who had incautiously come to visit him, and stood out to sea off Calicut. Finally, after threats and manœuvres, six of the Indians were exchanged for the detained Portuguese, and the fleet sailed away northwards. Just before the departure, Moncaide came aboard again and asked permission to sail with them to Portugal, which was granted.

Calicut had greatly impressed the Portuguese; it was, they declared, greater than Lisbon, with straight streets of stone-built houses in the Moorish style, a main square with a large mosque and many 'churches'. It was unwall'd, and had no harbour, but many local boats were drawn up on the long beach, and during the trading season a swarm of vessels lay in the roadstead—Arab dhows from the west and junks from the east. Merchants from all parts of

southern Asia thronged its markets and streets, bringing fine linen metalware, corn for which there was a large demand, from the West, and spices, pepper, jewels and other tropical products from the East. The spice merchants, having a monopoly of the trade, insisted on payment in gold or silver, the principal medium of exchange being Egyptian currency, although Venetian and Genoese ducats were in circulation. To their chagrin, the Portuguese, who had little bullion with them, found that pepper and spices were by no means cheap, owing to the charges imposed at each stage on the way from eastern islands.

Although it was not the best season for the crossing, as the north-east monsoon had not arrived, da Gama, anticipating a hostile move against him, sailed northwards for Anjediva Island, where he obtained water and vegetables, and then for the African coast. Just before the departure an incident occurred which justified in his mind this decision. A richly-dressed Moor, with a sword at his belt, came aboard and explained in good Venetian that he was a renegade in the service of the governor of the nearby city of Goa. He had been sent by his master, he announced, to offer aid to the strangers, and to enquire whether they would consider entering his service. Da Gama scented a trap and, declaring the man to be a spy, ordered him to be seized and severely beaten. The man maintained that his intentions were friendly, but after some days at sea, admitted the imputations. He must, however, have impressed da Gama very favourably, for on the return to Lisbon this Slavonian Jew, as he was generally thought to be, was baptized in the name of Gaspar da Gama. An intelligent and well-informed man, he entered the service of Portugal and later returned to India. Amerigo Vespucci, who met him in the Cape Verde Islands, was much struck with the extent of his travels—not only to the East Indies but also in Central Asia—and attributed to him much of the commercial information which da Gama brought back to Lisbon.

The voyage to the African coast almost ended in disaster, the season being unfavourable. Frequent calms alternated with foul weather, but more seriously, the crews were again ravaged by scurvy: 'All our people again suffered from their gums, which grew over their teeth, so that they could not eat. Their legs also swelled, and other parts of the body, and these swellings spread until the sufferer died.' With thirty more deaths, there were scarcely the men to work

the ships. At one moment it was agreed, if a favourable wind arose, to attempt to return to India.

However, six days later, when discipline had almost broken down, land was sighted, but no one was able to fix their position on the chart. Some thought they had made the Seychelles Islands, but they had in fact struck the Africa coast well to the north of their point of departure. Coasting southwards, they found themselves off Mogadishu, but alarmed that the Moors might discover their plight, they defiantly fired off a volley of bombards and continued along the coast with a fair wind, seeking the haven of Malindi. There they received a warm welcome: sheep, fowl and eggs were readily forthcoming, as well as a supply of oranges and other fruits for which the Captain-major had particularly asked. But, we are told, 'our sick did not much profit by this, for the climate affected them in such a way that many of them died here . . . We remained five days at this place enjoying ourselves, and reposing from the hardships of a passage during which all of us had been face to face with death'. The passage in fact had taken ninety-five days, a striking contrast to the twenty-one days of the outward crossing. Ibn-Majid had been sadly missed.

Despite their plight, the king was still anxious for an alliance with Portugal; a young Moor was sent with da Gama as an envoy, and the Captain-major's request for permission to erect a *padrão* before leaving was granted. Little is known of the last lap of this tedious voyage. The Cape of Good Hope was passed without difficulty, and after a run of twenty-seven days they were off the Rio Grande in West Africa. Here the two ships parted company, Coelho sailing direct to Lisbon, while da Gama went to the island of Terceira where his brother Paulo, who had been ill for some time, died. Two months after Coelho, he was back in Lisbon to receive a triumphal welcome.

Da Gama was duly rewarded with an estate and a sizeable annuity. King Manuel added, a little prematurely, to his titles that of 'Lord of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India', and hastened to inform the Spanish sovereigns of da Gama's achievement, commenting rather slyly, 'Your Highnesses will hear of these things with much pleasure and satisfaction.' As Christopher Columbus, after three voyages westwards in the service of the Spanish Crown, had failed to find the

least source of pepper or spices, any expression of satisfaction on the part of their Catholic Majesties must have been purely diplomatic.

An interested observer of da Gama's reception was a Florentine merchant long established in Lisbon, Girolamo Sernigi, who sent off long dispatches to Florence, summarizing all the information he had been able to glean, mainly from Gaspar da Gama. He was naturally keen to impart news of the commercial results; the Portuguese had brought back few precious stones of any great value, for they had lacked funds for their purchase, and the merchandise they took with them proved unsuitable for the Indian market. There was no doubt, however, that they had reached a vital point on the spice route from the East to the Moslem ports of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. All the trade at Calicut was in the hands of the Moors who made a fourfold profit on their transactions, and there was in addition a five per cent customs duty. He had also been told of strangers who had arrived there many years ago, possibly, he thought, Germans or Russians. There can be little doubt, however, that they were Chinese, and that this was a reference to their voyages already mentioned.

As a feat of navigation the voyage had been a great technical achievement. Da Gama's course from the Cape Verde Islands to his first landfall in South Africa was the longest on the high seas to that date, probably 4,000 miles at least, and ninety-three days at sea. The total distance sailed, Lisbon to Calicut and back, was approximately 22,000 miles, not so far short of the circumference of the globe at the Equator. To have sustained an ocean passage of ninety-three days in the South Atlantic, and to have brought his ships back from East Africa after such gruelling experiences, were astonishing examples of determination and endurance on the part of the Captain-major and his seamen. The cost had undoubtedly been heavy, eighty to one hundred men and two vessels. The loss of human life was largely due to the ravages of scurvy, of which contemporaries had little knowledge; the references to it in the record of the voyage are among the earliest in the literature, though at about this time Columbus's crews were also suffering this scourge. An efficacious remedy was not forthcoming for many years, but the Portuguese learnt on this voyage that fresh fruit was a palliative.

Against these losses, da Gama had shown that the voyage to

India, with the technical equipment then available, was practicable, if wearisome. Given the proper financial preparations and the right merchandise, and provided—and it was a major proviso—that ‘Moorish’ opposition could be overcome, the returns from the trade could be considerable. Furthermore, valuable information on the trade of the Far East was gleaned, and in particular some light was shed on the actual source of the spices and drugs in the eastern islands. Forty days beyond Calicut, they had learned, was Malacca, where all the cloves came from, also much porcelain and silk originating in China. But Malacca was to prove only another entrepôt, with the true home of the spices further on. Little wonder, therefore, that as the mysterious Spice Islands receded into the distance, men began to speculate on whether, after all, they might not be ‘the islands discovered by the King of Castile’, the West Indies.

CHAPTER FOUR

Afonso de Albuquerque and the Estado da India

LITTLE TIME WAS wasted in following up Vasco da Gama's success. The second Indian expedition was entrusted to Pedro Alvarez Cabral; with him went Nicolas Coelho who had supported da Gama so stoutly, and Bartolomeu Dias, supremely experienced in southern navigation. Also on board were the Malabar hostages, now instructed in the Christian faith. Cabral's orders were to investigate the reports of gold at Sofala, and to seek the co-operation of the Zamorin against the Moors, since it was still believed that his subjects were Christian. If he failed at Calicut, he was to try his luck at Cannanore.

Vasco da Gama's fleet had been entirely fitted out by the Crown; the officers and crews did not receive pay, but a reward on their return. As no valuable cargo had been brought back, the venture had been a heavy charge on the royal finances. The arrangements for the Cabral fleet were therefore altered. The men were to receive payment determined before sailing, but a proportion of this was to be taken in spices on arrival in Calicut; these they could later sell on the Lisbon market. A degree of private enterprise was also permitted; significantly, the individual who took the largest share in this was the Florentine banker, Bartolomeo Marchioni, a resident in Lisbon who had had business relations with his fellow countryman Amerigo Vespucci, and who had provided letters of credit for Pedro da Covilhã thirteen years earlier. His associates were Girolamo Sernegi and other Italian merchants. These men fitted out the small caravel *Annunciada*. Florence, having fallen behind in the contest for the oriental trade, was seizing eagerly at the opportunity offered by Portuguese enterprise. Marchioni continued to invest in the early Indian voyages and later in 1507 and 1514 lent King

Manuel large sums to finance the trade. Another vessel was furnished by a Portuguese nobleman, Don Alvaro de Braganza. Varieties of rich cloth and coral for trading purposes were taken on board and, warned by experience, the captains were provided with bullion to the value of 60,000 ducats.

In keeping with the importance of the mission, the fleet was large, thirteen vessels in all, manned by 1,200 men. The route through the Atlantic was similar to that of da Gama's, but carried so far to the west that a landfall was made on the Brazilian coast. The voyage onwards to southern Africa was marked by a considerable disaster; caught in a sudden squall, four vessels capsized and sank with all hands, no attempt being made at rescue. Among those lost was that great pioneer, Bartolomeu Dias.

Cabral finally made the African coast at Mozambique, and with the major part of his battered fleet set course direct for Calicut. One vessel, however, having sighted Madagascar, reconnoitred the coast, and sailed on northwards in bad shape to Berbera. There, sixty sick men were put ashore to recuperate, only to be massacred by marauding Arabs. The morale of the fleet must by now have been at a low ebb. Anchoring off Calicut, Cabral hoped for better things. But any optimism was distinctly premature. His very first action—landing the Malabarian converts—was ill-conceived; the men were of low caste, and the gesture was considered tantamount to an insult. Relations deteriorated still further during negotiations with the Zamorin, after an exchange of hostages. Cabral made little progress, partly owing to his temperamental inability to understand the Zamorin's point of view, and after ten weeks he had succeeded in loading only two of his ships with pepper. Frustrated and insecure, he then blundered into seizing an Arab ship engaged in legitimate trade—apparently because he believed the Arab merchants were receiving preferential treatment. In the alarm and consternation provoked by this arbitrary act, some forty Portuguese were slain by the Calicut mob and the factory destroyed. Taking a bloody revenge, Cabral, a sick man, recklessly assaulted the foreign shipping, destroying the vessels and killing 600 of their crews, and then bombarded the town.

At this critical juncture Gaspar da India suggested that it might be more satisfactory to try what could be done at Cochin. Cabral took his advice, and the fleet sailed on. It was a profitable move. No

doubt because of the rivalry between the two trading centres, Cabral, despite some trouble over hostages, was able to do good business in Cochin and to load the remaining ships with valuable cargoes. Then, after being warned of the approach of the Zamorin's fleet of eighty vessels, and nervous of missing the sailing season, he evaded the enemy and put to sea, leaving behind Gonzalo Gil Barbosa and thirty Portuguese in the factory. After further trade at Cannanore, Cabral made a direct crossing to Mozambique; but ill luck still pursued him, for more ships were lost. Eventually, however, he reached Lisbon with the five survivors.

Financially, his voyage was successful, but in other respects it foreshadowed future trouble. Besides antagonizing the ruler of the most important mercantile centre on the Indian coast he had also alarmed the international clientele upon whose support its prosperity depended. His conduct had also the effect of focusing King Manuel's policy upon obtaining redress for what he regarded as an insult to his honour; and resources were directed to this end which might have been better employed elsewhere. It is significant that, in this connection, João da Nova, the commander of the next expedition, traded profitably with other centres and avoided Calicut.

The return of Cabral's surviving vessels, predictably, caused great excitement in Lisbon, and as the news spread, there was consternation in Venice. King Manuel, though shocked by the heavy loss of life and material, was nevertheless highly elated. King Ferdinand of Spain was immediately informed, and the Venetian representative, Il Cretico, was summoned to the celebrations. He duly reported to his masters: 'I was with the Most Serene King, who called me and told me that I might congratulate him because his ships had arrived from India, loaded with spices; and so I rejoiced in due form with him. He had a feast held in the palace that evening and a ringing of bells throughout the city, and on the following day he had solemn procession made throughout the land. Afterwards, when I found myself with His Majesty, he referred again to his ships and told me that I should write to Your Serenity that from now on you should send your ships to carry spices from here. He would make them welcome and they could feel that they were at home. And he would forbid the Sultan to go for spices. He wishes to put forty ships in this trade, some going, some returning. In short, he feels that he has India at his command.'

Il Cretico wrote also that there would undoubtedly be a catastrophic fall in the price of pepper; at Cochin the ships 'took on a heavy cargo [they loaded seven ships with spices] at a price I fear to tell, because they declare they have obtained a cantara of cinnamon for a ducat and less'. 'The worst news the Venetian Republic could have had', commented another observer; 'an event of greater importance to the Venetian Republic than the Turkish war', echoed a third. The Venetian diarist, Girolamo Priuli, summed up the position briefly: 'The spices which come to Venice pass through all of Syria and through all of the countries of the Sultan. And in each place they pay very large duties and similarly in the Venetian state they pay unsufferable duties, presents and excises. Therefore through the countries of the Sultan, extending to the city of Venice, the presents, duties and excises are so great that I might say this, that whatever costs a ducat would be multiplied in price by these to the amount of sixty or one hundred ducats . . . Therefore the King of Portugal having found this voyage the other way round, would alone have the spices of the caravels, which they would import for much less in comparison with the other spices mentioned above, and for this reason they could give the spices a much better market than can the Venetian merchants; furthermore it is shorter to transport the spices to Flanders, Hungary, England, France and other places from Portugal than to carry them from Venice . . . And when this traffic in merchandize is lessened in Venice, it can be considered that the milk and nutriment of Venice are lessened to a trickle.'

Marino Sanuto, another commentator, writing in September 1501, recorded the final disillusionment of the Venetians when they heard of the arrival of cargoes of pepper in the Low Countries in Portuguese bottoms: 'And many merchants and others in Venice in the past have not wished to believe it; until now that they see the letters of the envoy, they are enlightened with the quantity of the spices above mentioned. And on this day, also in consonance with this news, from letters through from Bruges in Flanders, there is learned that two caravels have arrived in that part, come from Portugal with spices brought from Calicut, and that they have begun to sell. The pepper is somewhat green and small, but still good; the cinnamon is somewhat large. So that this can be considered the beginning of the damage which the Venetian state can receive from the voyage found by the King of Portugal.'

These Venetians collected varying estimates of the quantity of spices brought back to Lisbon, the maximum quoted being 400,000 pounds, with pepper forming three quarters of the total. This figure was approximately one quarter of the quantity which the Venetians purchased annually at Alexandria, at a cost of 300,000 ducats, but from 1503 onwards the Portuguese imports increased considerably.

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To command the next large fleet, Manuel turned once again to da Gama. The objective was now seen as the destruction of Egyptian power in the Indian Ocean, which would allow the monopoly of the oriental trade to pass into Portuguese hands. Accordingly, of the fifteen vessels placed under da Gama's captaincy, five were to remain in the East with Vicente Sodre, to patrol the Arabian coasts and to deny entry from the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. To reinforce da Gama, five more vessels were dispatched a month later, a sign that the magnitude of the undertaking was fully appreciated.

After a rendezvous at Anjediva Island, da Gama sailed out to intercept a large merchant ship from the Red Sea whose approach had been reported; on board were several wealthy Calicut merchants, about 250 men, and many women and children. Then followed one of the most astonishing episodes in this troubled saga. After boarding and dismantling the vessel, the Portuguese set her on fire. But the desperate crew beat out the flames and drove off successive attempts to re-kindle them. For eight days, virtually unarmed, they fought on with fanatical courage; the Portuguese, disdaining quixotically to wear armour against unprotected opponents, were unable to scale the tall sides of their prey. Against all the odds the Arab defence came within an ace of destroying their opponents, who were saved only by a diversion created by another Portuguese vessel. For days the doomed vessel was pursued under constant bombardment, the end coming when a turncoat, in return for his life, started another and more effective fire. Save for a small number of children, all on the burning ship lost their lives.

After this holocaust, which, as was no doubt calculated, spread widespread terror, da Gama repaired to Calicut, only to find that the Zamorin obstinately maintained his refusal to accord him exclusive, or even special, trading privileges. Thereupon da Gama slaughtered 800 fishermen, bombarded the town for two days and

then made off to Cochin. The King of Cochin, though he welcomed the humiliation of his rival the Zamorin, had no desire to be embroiled in Portuguese quarrels. Da Gama, however, behaving in his customary high-handed way with little regard for Indian susceptibilities, insisted on fortifying a factory before his departure, and entrusted it to the redoubtable Duarte Pacheco. Similar arrangements were made at Cannanore.

Da Gama's conduct on this voyage and the situation he left behind him were very nearly disastrous for Portugal's presence in India. Cochin, abandoned by the squadron under Vicente Sodre, who sailed away to raid the Arabian coast, was overrun by the Zamorin of Calicut's forces, and she was only saved from complete destruction by the timely arrival of Almeida and Afonso d'Albuquerque with three ships each. Once again, on their departure, hostilities were renewed, and Cochin suffered further losses, the reputation of Portugal being somewhat restored by the gallant defence of the fort by Duarte Pacheco and ninety men against much superior forces. Confused fighting continued spasmodically until the arrival of the first Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida.

Through the naked assertion of Portuguese power and the shameful treatment of a loyal ally, hopes of establishing a flourishing commerce were fading rapidly. On da Gama's return it was therefore apparent to King Manuel that the affairs of India required drastic reorganization. As long as the captains of the annual fleets followed their own whims and ambitions without regard to the general interest, no consistent policy could be executed. So long, also, as the Zamorin of Calicut remained free to conduct hostilities, no other ruler could be expected to rally willingly to Portugal. Accordingly, Manuel decided to appoint a Viceroy who would remain in India for a term of three years, with absolute power over all settlements east of the Cape of Good Hope, subject only to direction by the Crown. His primary objective would be the destruction of the Zamorin. The man chosen for this important post was a distinguished nobleman, Francisco de Almeida. King Manuel was determined that the position in India must be consolidated militarily, and Almeida was specifically charged with the construction of forts at Kilwa on the East African coast, on the island of Anjediva, and at Cannanore and Cochin.

On the voyage out, Almeida duly built the fort at Kilwa and

annexed Mombasa, before sailing on to Cochin. There, he relieved Duarte Pacheco, who was still holding out against the Zamorin, and constructed a fort as his headquarters.

Almeida's hope was to restore peaceful commerce by arrangements with the several rulers of the Malabar coast and to avoid costly attacks upon fortified ports, relying simply on his command of the sea; but his term of office was bedevilled by the continued hostility of the Zamorin, and by the actions of his own captains. An expedition to Ceylon under his son Lourenço's command proved abortive, and troubles in Quilon resulted in the destruction of the factory and its garrison by fire. Portuguese reputation suffered still further when their fleet abandoned vessels belonging to their allies, Cochin and Cannanore, before a renewed attack by the Zamorin. But Lourenço then restored the situation by destroying a Calicut fleet in a battle which was closer to a massacre than a naval action, for some 4,000 were reported to have been slaughtered with slight loss to the Portuguese.

The effectiveness of Lourenço's success was, however, transitory. Through mismanagement, even Cochin now turned temporarily against the Portuguese and almost reduced the fort before it was relieved by the timely arrival of da Cunha's fleet from Lisbon. Still more alarmingly, a threat from the north suddenly materialized. The last independent Mameluke ruler of Egypt, provoked by the menace to his prosperity, had with great difficulty managed to assemble and despatch from Suez a war fleet carrying 1,500 men at arms. The Egyptian ships, reinforced by the Moslems of Gujerat, clashed with the Portuguese off Chaul. The result was decisive: the Portuguese were routed and Lourenço de Almeida was killed.

While the Viceroy, now bereft of his son, was coping with these catastrophes, King Manuel was pressing on with the accumulation of further military reinforcements. The commander he chose on this occasion was Afonso de Albuquerque, who had already acquitted himself with distinction at Cochin in 1503. Unlike many of the pioneers, Afonso was of high birth, a blood relation of the royal house and a descendant of a High Admiral of Portugal. He had been one of a group in the confidence of John II when that monarch was planning the enterprise of India, and had won his spurs in the wars against the Moors in North Africa. After the taking of Arzila in 1471 he had served in its garrison for ten years, thus procuring an insight

into Moorish ways, besides practical experience in the field against them. Later he had held Graciosa, a new outpost in Morocco, against their assaults, and had again served in Arzila. His outlook therefore was coloured by hatred of the infidel, so that to him the Indian enterprise was but an extension of the conflict with Islam in the Mediterranean. As a friend of the late King, he was not intimate with Manuel, who was in general suspicious of his high officers and averse to heavy expenditure; but in choosing Albuquerque for this post the King had risen above personal feelings. Later, however, he was too ready to listen to Albuquerque's enemies and to carp at his actions.

Albuquerque's instructions were twofold: first, he was to undertake a campaign against the Moorish ports from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf; secondly, after the lapse of three years, he was to succeed Almeida as Viceroy and to consolidate the position in Malabar. He was given command of six vessels, part of a fleet of fourteen which sailed under Tristan da Cunha. Albuquerque's position, both as regards da Cunha and Almeida, was thus ambiguous (his appointment as Viceroy was kept secret) and the divided command inevitably caused difficulties. If the combined fleet failed to reach India in that current season, da Cunha was, with Albuquerque's help, to seize and fortify the island of Socotra. Albuquerque was then to be independent and, as 'Chief Captain of the Arabian Seas', to harry the Moors until it was time for him to proceed to Cochin.

After being delayed in the Atlantic, the Portuguese ships reached Mozambique too late for the south-west monsoon. Further loss of speed was caused by da Cunha's insistence on exploring the coast of Madagascar and becoming embroiled in the King of Malindi's private war with the rival town of Angoja. Finally, though, with three of the best pilots available in Malindi, they sailed to attack Socotra. In the assault on the fortress, great courage and ruthlessness were displayed by both sides, and no quarter given. Having established a garrison on the island, Albuquerque faced a difficult decision; supplies were running short and it was imperative he should proceed on his mission as soon as possible, yet da Cunha and his captains were eager to sail for India, lured on by the prospect of quick and large profits. Albuquerque, who saw himself as a successor to Alexander the Great, was adamant; his king had

ordered him to destroy the Moors and to build fortresses to hold them in subjection, and this he proposed to do. In the end the bonds of loyalty and comradeship prevailed and, once engaged in combat, the Portuguese fought recklessly. Muscat, after much parleying with the Governor, was assaulted and sacked with great savagery. Having driven off the defenders, 'he put all the Moors with their women and children, found in the houses, to the sword, without giving any quarter'; other prisoners were set free after their ears and noses had been cut off. Finally the city was set afire.

But when he arrived off the island of Hormuz, at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, Albuquerque was obliged to proceed more circumspectly. Hormuz, the seat of a petty kingdom subject nominally to the Shah of Persia, whose importance as a terminus of the eastern trade so many travellers had stressed, had been aroused by news of the depredations of the Portuguese, and was actively preparing its defence. Against the advice of his captains, Albuquerque proceeded to destroy the fleet lying off the city. There is a grisly account of the drowned bodies of Moors surfacing after seven days and being stripped of valuables by the Portuguese sailors. Then followed long negotiations, punctuated by armed clashes. The defenders were well aware of the small numbers of their enemies and of the dissensions among them, and played for time until reinforcements could arrive. But gradually they were obliged to give way. Finally they accepted the overlordship of the King of Portugal, an annual sum as tribute was agreed, and permission to build a fortress granted. A start was made with its construction, but it was abandoned when the position of the Portuguese further deteriorated. Water was a pressing problem particularly when the Persians took to filling the wells with dead bodies, human and animal. At last Albuquerque, having applied to Almeida for reinforcements without result, faced more trouble with his captains, who declared that he had withheld their share of the tribute paid by the King of Hormuz. Despite his offer to refer the dispute to the Viceroy, they sailed off. Albuquerque, obliged to abandon his plans for a final assault, left Hormuz for the Red Sea, with dire threats of future action to demonstrate his sovereign's displeasure.

With the vessels remaining to him, Albuquerque protected the garrison on Socotra, raided the South Arabian coast, and for a span patrolled the entrance to the Red Sea in the hope of intercepting

traders bound for Jidda. But time was running out; as he sailed for Cochin he engaged in a correspondence at long range with the King of Hormuz, for he had learned that the Viceroy was proposing to institute proceedings against him for his recent actions, and had even disowned him in a communication to Hormuz's ruler. Angry and disheartened, he informed his adversary: 'Know of a certainty that I have fear of no one except my King. On the contrary I tell thee that the Captain [Albuquerque himself] who knew both how to obtain this kingdom, conquer a king in battle, and make him tributary to the King of Portugal, will be treated with great honour, let him go whithersoever he will.'

When he reached Cochin, Albuquerque found Almeida unwilling to hand over the command, and determined to lead the fleet he had assembled to avenge the defeat and death of his son. The jealous hostility between the two men was further stimulated by Almeida's anger at Albuquerque's behaviour at a time when every ship was needed to meet the Egyptian threat and he was working to implement his policy of concentrating his strength at a few points and of expanding trade through command of the sea. The impasse was finally broken by the arrival of Fernão de Coutinho with a powerful fleet. Coutinho, a relative of Albuquerque, insisted upon installing him as Governor. Almeida, claiming that it was his right to avenge his son, was allowed to lead his fleet northwards; in a completely successful campaign, he relieved Cannanore, stormed and ferociously sacked Dabul and destroyed the enemy fleet off Diu. The ex-Viceroy then turned for Lisbon but was killed en route with many of his men in an unnecessary fight with natives on the South African coast. That he should have come into conflict with his illustrious contemporary should not be held to diminish the solid worth of his viceroyalty.

In the next six years, Albuquerque, recognized as sole authority, set his stamp on the Portuguese empire in the East. The difficulties with which he had to contend were extreme, and not lessened by the obstinacy with which he at times pursued them. With a few hundred men and ships, admittedly superior in technique to those of the enemy, he was striving to establish an empire at a distance of 6,000 miles from his home base, from which with luck he could expect annual reinforcement, provided they survived the hazards of the ocean. Unlike the Castilians in America, he was confronted

by powerful enemies whose courage and martial qualities equalled his own; as warriors the Turks were scarcely less efficient than the Portuguese and equally doughty fighters. The prospect of success lay in holding off threats from the north, in playing off his opponents one against the other, and in seizing the centres of the spice trade. In all this he had to carry with him a sovereign whose actions were at times devious, who was suspicious of powerful lieutenants, and who grudged the expenditure demanded by the scale of the undertaking on which all his hopes were centred. While Albuquerque could count on the fighting spirit of his men, animated by hostility towards the infidel, to rise to the severest challenge, at other times their actions were dictated by personal ambition and the possibility of intriguing against him at Court. Though in some ways Albuquerque's attitude towards his people was enlightened, his dominating motive was that of conquest, and conquest as the word was understood in the Europe of his day, with all that it implied for the defeated. The thought that Hormuz had obstinately defied his will rankled, though admittedly more as an insult to the honour of his king than to his own.

His term of office opened somewhat inauspiciously. Coutinho, who was under orders from King Manuel to destroy the Zamorin (Manuel had never forgiven the attack on Cabral's men), insisted, against Albuquerque's advice, on an immediate assault on Calicut. This was badly handled by Coutinho, but because of Albuquerque's skilful tactics was not a serious setback. Now at last he was to carry out his plans for the destruction of the Sultan of Egypt's power in the Red Sea and Arabian waters. The fleet was indeed about to sail on this mission when he was approached by Timoja, the Governor of Onor, who urged him to take advantage of an interregnum at Goa to seize that city. Albuquerque with his flair for grasping a promising situation, and one which fell in with his plans, persuaded his captains to accept this new objective, Goa, 400 miles north of Cochin, had all the requirements of a secure base for the Portuguese. Second only to Calicut as a trading centre, it was well sited for defence and possessed a large and sheltered anchorage. As the most southerly outpost of Moslem power, it was a constant menace to the Malabar settlements. As part of the Moslem kingdom of Bijapur, it was ruled by Yusaf Adil Shah, said to be a son of no less a personage than Amurad II, Sultan of the Ottoman Turks.

Goa fell to Albuquerque's attack in March 1510 without great resistance and, as Moslem rule had been oppressive, the Hindu populace received the Portuguese warmly. Yusuf Adil Shah, however, reacted strongly, marching with a large force to re-take the city. After three months of sporadic but hard fighting, Albuquerque was forced to withdraw, but only so as to plan a final assault. When the annual fleet arrived with reinforcements, the old dispute broke out again; the commander, Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, had orders to proceed to Malacca to tap the spice trade nearer its source, and the prospects of loss of life and delay at Goa were less attractive than a share in the fabulous wealth of the eastern islands. Albuquerque, facing the crisis of his career—he had already hanged one captain for mutiny—compromised by delaying the attack in order to load and despatch the fleet to Lisbon, and then returned to Goa, only to find that Yusuf Adil Shah had, somewhat precipitately, withdrawn his forces. After further sharp fighting, the Portuguese and their Indian allies took the town, with the loss of forty killed and 150 wounded. Perhaps reacting to the tension of the preceding months, Albuquerque then took a terrible revenge—the massacre of the Moslem population, men, women and children.

Albuquerque's insistence on seizing Goa was used by his enemies to discredit him with King Manuel. They argued that its capture was costly in men and material; that it would be a permanent challenge to Yusuf Adil Shah, who would devote all his energies to its re-capture; that its maintenance would be a heavy charge on the revenue of the Crown, and that it was unhealthy. Albuquerque's reply asserted its strategic value: it was 'the headquarters of the league that was set on foot to oust us out of India'. Moreover, Portugal required a permanent base; it was foolish to believe that, without such a base, the navy could maintain command of the sea. King Manuel finally came down on Albuquerque's side. In the address to Pope Julius II, the Portuguese representative, heaping praises on Albuquerque for his achievements, spoke extravagantly of the success of their arms: 'So many cities of unmeasured wealth and immense strength entered by force of arms; so many various nations conquered, so many tribes overrun in battle—and this too with a very disproportionate number of soldiers, who were always able to come victoriously out of any enterprise to which they had devoted themselves.' But Albuquerque was not to be lauded for the



scale of his slaughter and destruction, but for his demonstration of the 'notable Portuguese spirit'.

Despite royal support Albuquerque continued to be harassed by insubordination. He objected to the King: 'Do not require of me every year an account of what I am doing as if I were a tax-gatherer, because four ill-mannered fellows, who sit at home like idols in their pagodas, have borne fresh witness against me.' As he himself put the position pithily: 'I deserved more thanks from the King Don Manuel for defending Goa for him against the Portuguese, than I did for capturing it on two occasions from the Turks.'

Surprised and alarmed by such a demonstration of ruthless power, Goa's neighbouring rulers were ready to treat while they awaited Albuquerque's next moves. Kamal Khan, the Governor of Bijapur, on hearing of the second victory at Goa, temporized with an offer to recognize Portuguese possession of that city provided no further attacks were made upon his territory. Albuquerque was in a mood for more substantial concessions, including a trading agreement. To this end he offered to sell Kamal all the horses imported through Goa, at a handsome price. The military establishments of the Indian states, engaged in constant warfare, were largely dependent upon their cavalry and, as horses were not bred in the country, they were accustomed to draw on Arabia and Persia for their remounts. Consequently, if he could maintain command of the sea, Albuquerque had a strong card to play. Little came of these proposals, however, and he continued to dangle this prize before other princes, particularly the ruler of Vijayanagar, who was also temporizing.

Other rulers anxious to stand well with the triumphant intruders included Mahmud Shah Begara, the ruler of the Muslim kingdom of Ahmadabad. But again little positive emerged, for Albuquerque refused to allow Moslem trade with Aden to continue unmolested. The Zamorin of Calicut also played for time, while declining to allow the Portuguese to build a fort in his city. Albuquerque, recognizing that only by complete control of the merchant traffic with Aden and Hormuz could all these temporizers be brought to heel, determined to stake everything on an offensive. His attention, however, was once again drawn to distant Malacca; with the backing of his captains, Diogo Mendez, who had reluctantly taken part in the final assault on Goa, refused to be drawn into what many regarded as an ill-conceived and futile venture in the Red Sea, and

insisted that the Royal instructions to re-establish the position in Malacca should be carried out immediately. Albuquerque gave way, but, restless and apprehensive, took over the leadership of the expedition himself. The position in Malacca was certainly precarious. Diogo Lopes de Sequeia, who had reached the city in 1509, had met with hostility both from the Malay authorities and from the Moslem merchants, which culminated in a surprise attack, the killing of sixty Portuguese, and the imprisonment of the factor, Ruy de Arujo, and twenty companions; it was not a situation of which Albuquerque approved. Pusillanimously, Sequeia sailed away, and learning that Albuquerque was the new Governor, continued directly to Lisbon. Arujo, a staunch supporter of Albuquerque, succeeded in getting a letter through to Cochin, describing their ill-treatment, pleading to be rescued, and warmly commending a Hindu merchant Ninachatu, who had succoured them in their distress.

Gathering all his available resources—1,400 men and eighteen ships—Albuquerque arrived off Malacca in May 1511. After tedious and exasperating negotiations for the release of the prisoners, the Portuguese with the assistance of 600 Javanese infantry stormed and took the town. The prisoners were set free and Albuquerque proceeded to reorganize the city. Recognizing the multi-racial character of the commerce, he divided the merchants into national groups. The Hindus, who received favoured treatment, were placed under Ninachatu, and the Javanese under a wealthy merchant, Utema Raja, while similar arrangements were made for the Gujerati and Bengali groups. He was also careful to keep on good terms with the Chinese merchants, allowing five junks in the port to complete their business and sail for home.

This conciliatory policy succeeded for a while, until in fact Utema Raja, who had raised the Javanese troops, thought he might manipulate the situation to his own advantage. Albuquerque struck swiftly and ruthlessly. On the suspicion that he was plotting a revolt Utema and all the male members of his family were seized and, despite the offer of a huge ransom and pitiful pleas for mercy, were executed in public. Albuquerque also pursued his usual policy of friendly overtures to neighbouring countries who were not sorry to see the Moslems humbled. Chief among these was the ruler of Siam, a particular enemy of the ex-King of Malacca. At the same

time, he despatched Antonio de Abreu with three ships to find the Moluccas, the spice islands which Portugal had striven so long to attain.

Although threatened at times by the ex-Sultan in alliance with neighbouring Moslem kingdoms, Malacca under the new Governor, Ruy de Brito Patalim, entered a period of prosperity as the great entrepôt of Eastern trade. Up to that time some forty ships had sailed annually for Aden; by disrupting this traffic Albuquerque had taken a considerable step towards achieving his objective of undermining Turkish power. Portuguese strength and their lines of communication, however, were dangerously extended. A demonstration of the dangers was provided on Albuquerque's return voyage, when his great, but ancient, ship, *Flor de la Mar*, was wrecked on the Sumatran coast with the loss of many magnificent gifts intended for King Manuel and much booty. Later the fleet was reduced to desperate straits, partly through lack of fresh water, and their plight was only relieved by the seizure of local shipping.

On his return to Goa Albuquerque faced another crisis. Taking advantage of his absence, Bijapur had struck again at Goa, defeating Timoja and Rassul Khan and driving them out of the island. The Portuguese garrison in the fort, however, was holding out desperately. Albuquerque met the situation with his usual resolution and alacrity; his skilful handling of the campaign and the fighting qualities of his troops compelled the besiegers to surrender, just as a relieving force was approaching.

The Governor, as though unable to resist marking each victory by an act of cruel revenge, shamefully ill-treated and tortured the Portuguese renegades handed over as a condition of the surrender, men whose lives he had promised to spare. To make certain of his hold on Goa, he then set about fortifying the whole island. This concentration on the city brought him the usual remonstrances from King Manuel; these he answered forcefully in a long letter, the apologia for his whole administration. 'The taking of Goa keeps India in repose and quiet. It was folly to place all your power and strength in your navy only . . . in ships as rotten as cork, only kept afloat by four pumps in each of them. Once Portugal should suffer a reverse at sea, your Indian possessions have not power to hold out a day longer than the Kings of the land suffer it.' At present in Cochin and Cannanore 'if one of our men takes anything by force

from a native, immediately they have to raise the drawbridge and shut the gates of the fortress, and this causes Your Highness not to be lord of the land, as of Goa'. The remedy for every complaint was a jurisdiction where justice was available to all. As to the cost, which the King was constantly bemoaning: with efficient and fair administration Goa could not only meet all these expenses but contribute to the wealth of the Kingdom. Let the King reward with grants of land the 'cavileers and fidalgos' who have helped in these victories and farm out the land taxes to collectors; these returns plus the customs duties from what was one of the great ports of the Indian coast should relieve his sovereign of all anxiety, and allow him to reap all the profits of the spice trade.

King Manuel could not but accept this powerful exposition of policy, although those in Lisbon antagonistic to the Governor continued their intrigues. Albuquerque also improved his position with his sovereign by setting out upon the foray into the Red Sea. However, little of value was achieved. Despite the unflinching courage of his men, he was obliged to call off an assault on Aden. After cruising rather aimlessly in the Red Sea, contemplating a raid on Suez or the seizure of a town on the African coast to establish contact with Ethiopia, he sailed for Diu on the coast of Gujerat, where he proposed to establish a fortress. His overtures to the Sultan were not well received, and he had to be content with leaving a factor there. He was more fortunate en route for Goa. Falling in with the fleet of Arab traders from Calicut, which had been awaiting the monsoon to carry them to the Red Sea, he without hesitation seized their valuable merchandise, thus striking a heavy and almost fatal blow to the declining prosperity of Calicut.

The next twelve months were spent in organizing and consolidating his position in India, that is, the relatively restricted portion of the southern littoral which lay south of Goa. King Manuel was still urging the reduction of Calicut, but on this occasion Albuquerque proceeded more warily not to say craftily. At his instigation the ruling Zamorin was poisoned by his heir who, submitting to the King of Portugal, made recompense for the slaughter in Cabral's time, and allowed the building of one of the strongest fortresses on the whole coast.

Then there were the affairs of Malacca, again calling for attention. The ex-Sultan, attempting to retake the city, had been defeated by

Fernão Peres, who had also destroyed a large Javanese fleet without great difficulty. Nevertheless reinforcements were required to accompany the new Captain, the Viceroy's nephew, Jorge de Albuquerque. These were grudgingly supplied, for the Governor was turning his eyes once more towards Hormuz. There were pressing reasons for intervention, apart from his wounded pride. The king with whom he had dealt, and his minister Khoji Atar, were dead. The latter, alarmed and bitter over the seizure of Goa, had, while continuing the annual tribute to the King of Portugal, sought closer ties with the Shah of Persia, and had also dispatched an envoy to Lisbon. King Manuel, however, had declined to discuss the matter of the tribute, making it plain that he was leaving the affair in Albuquerque's hands.

Meanwhile the Shah was making his own approach to the Viceroy, to whom he despatched an envoy with munificent gifts. His policy was dictated by hatred of the Ottoman Turks and a desire to advance the Sh'iah form of Islam, for which objectives he hoped to enlist the aid of the Portuguese. Albuquerque could see the advantages to be drawn from this situation, but was not prepared to win them by giving up Hormuz. The Persian envoy was accompanied on his return by Miguel Ferreira who was strictly enjoined to conduct himself soberly, to observe carefully, and to keep his mouth shut, but little came of his mission. Concurrently, Albuquerque dispatched his nephew Pedro to demonstrate before Aden and in the Persian Gulf and to collect the tribute from Hormuz while he himself prepared, despite his ill health, for more decisive action. He could now turn once again to Hormuz for, as he explained in a letter to his King: 'Cochin, Cannanore and Calicut are well furnished and secure; the kings of the land are very tame in the service of Portugal, and there is peace throughout Malabar. Malacca is well fortified, and quiet since the dispersal of the Javanese fleet, and Goa is so well fortified that no one will make an attempt upon it. Moreover, Hormuz receives news from India easily, and if the Rumes [the Turks] come, the news runs to Diu and Cambay. Hormuz should not be destroyed, but preserved, to be turned into a depot for Indian merchandize for the Moors, thus ending the Red Sea navigation, as shortly I hope will be done.'

Collecting all his resources, he sailed for the city, seized control of it, murdered the chief minister before the eyes of the terrified

boy king, and completed and garrisoned the fortress, left unfinished on his earlier expedition. These high-handed actions thoroughly awed the neighbouring rulers, who flocked to look upon this terrifying portent and to procure a portrait of the great conqueror—some, it said, from as far as Tartary. But at this crowning moment of his career Albuquerque was a sick, if not a dying, man whose desire was to end his days in the city of his creation. Accordingly, leaving Pedro de Albuquerque as Captain of the fort, he sailed for Goa. Then fate delivered another stroke, for he received news that he had been superseded and that one of his bitterest enemies, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, was the new Viceroy. As his ship entered the harbour of Goa, the great commander expired.

In his last dignified letter to his King, in which he asked that the rewards of his loyal and arduous services should be bestowed on his illegitimate son, he summed up his life's work succinctly: 'My Lord, I do not write to you by my own hand because if I did it would shake exceedingly—a sign of approaching death. You, Senhor, will, in my memory, permit my son, to whom I leave all my estate, which is quite small, to receive the obligation for all my services, which are very great—the affairs of India speak for me and for themselves. I leave India with the principal leaders in your power. Nothing remains to be done, and that is very necessary, save to close the entrance to the Strait [of Aden]. This is what I commend to your Highness; you, Senhor, must always take counsel for the security of India, drawing from it your expenses. I beg your Highness as a favour to consider these things, and to make my son great and give him all the satisfaction for my service. I place all my trust in the hands of your Highness and our lady queen.' His son and biographer, with pardonable pride, provided a more detailed account; the envoys of neighbouring kingdoms 'saw him erecting powerful fortresses in India; they saw him provided with plenty of artillery, plenty of shipping, vessels and galleys; they saw him surrounded with numerous Portuguese households, youths and girls born in their land; they saw houses of stone and mortar erected; orchards planted; arable lands cultivated, and the increase of all kinds of stock; they saw his commerce flourishing both on sea and on land; they saw everywhere around them order and justice and good government prevailing, and many other matters of civilization belonging to the

people who were settling in the land and intended to establish their progress therein'.



The characteristics which Albuquerque displayed as a military commander were evident also in his work as a civil administrator, which established the 'Estado da India' as it was to function during the heyday of Portuguese rule. The state was based on the fortresses of Mozambique, Hormuz, Goa and Malacca, linked with a series of lesser fortified factories, such as Mombasa, Diu and Ternate in the Moluccas, which extended from the east African coast to the China Sea. In addition, trading posts were set up with the approval of the local rulers at places such as Meliapor, near Madras, and Hooghley in Bengal. A late addition to these was the settlement at Macao, dependent on the good will of the Chinese government. These footholds, maintained by naval power, controlled the main routes from east to west. All trading voyages, other than the annual fleet to Lisbon, were conducted under licences issued by the Portuguese authorities; in the early days efforts were made to prevent the Moslem states from trading directly across the Indian Ocean, and Albuquerque took particular pains to build up Goa as a great market where merchants, provided they obeyed the regulations, could expect fair treatment.

The conduct and defence of so extensive a commerce made heavy demands on the available manpower. As there were no permanent military forces in the settlement, each captain assembled the men required for a particular mission, making his own bargain with them. The fighting men were thus to a considerable extent freelances, ready to seek for better terms with rival rulers, or to launch out as adventurers or traders on their own. In the early days, many deserted to take service with Moslem or Hindu princes who were accustomed, after the Turkish fashion, to employ mercenaries, so-called renegades, and converted Christian slaves. Artillerymen and gun-founders were in particular demand with the Turks, understandably enough, as it was the Portuguese superiority in this arm which gave them their victories at sea. Varthema, the Venetian traveller who was in India at this time, met two Milanese deserters from Almeida's fleet who were casting guns for the Zamorin, also a Jew who had built a galley for him. Unfortunately for the Italians their contact with Varthema caused them to be suspected as spies

and they were promptly murdered. It must be said of these renegades that they usually served their new masters loyally. At the battle for Raichur, between Bijapur and Vijayanagar, a band of forty Portuguese in the service of the Adil Khan fought with reckless desperation against the hosts of Vijayanagar and were cut down to a man.

In the days of the early voyages, the prospects of wealth and personal advancement were sufficient inducement to embark for the Indies, and many vessels sailed from Lisbon grossly overcrowded. But, against this, had to be set the heavy loss of life on the outward voyages, the result of scurvy, dysentery and other epidemic diseases, apart from shipwrecks. Albuquerque, who had good reason to realize the handicap, initiated various measures, some unusual for his time, in mitigation. In his assaults against Goa and Hormuz he employed some hundreds of Hindu troops under Portuguese leadership, thus setting an example which was followed by succeeding foreign powers.

The basic problem, however, was to create a resident body of settlers which would not only defend the strongholds but provide skilled craftsmen to replenish the armouries and maintain the fleets. To this end, after the taking of Goa he encouraged his men to marry Moslem or Hindu women by the grant of dowries and other privileges. Such a policy had its disadvantages, for news of events in Goa was often rapidly conveyed to the enemy camp by relatives (admittedly this system also operated in reverse, to the advantage of the Portuguese). Also it was not looked upon with favour by the Church, which doubted the genuineness of the conversions which preceded the marriages and the moral laxity which sometimes followed them. But it undoubtedly attracted settlers and Albuquerque proceeded to organize these men into a town militia for Goa and to give what time he could spare to its training. He also founded schools to educate the offspring of these unions, and hospitals for the sick which became famous throughout the East.

A distinctive social structure was thus built up. First stood the *reinoes*, those born in Portugal, and the *casticos*, born in Asia of Portuguese parents. From them were drawn the Viceroy, the officers of state and church, the administrators of the royal monopoly, and the bulk of the fighting men. Below them, and increasing in proportion as time went on, were the *mesticos*, the offspring of mixed marriages, and at the base, the indigenous population, mainly

living in the territory adjacent to Goa. The merchant vessels came to be manned by native crews, under Portuguese captains and pilots.

After their term of office the Viceroys and many of the higher officials returned to Portugal. After Albuquerque, the viceroys continued to be appointed for terms of three years. Few approached him in distinction. The amount they could achieve was limited in this period and a reasonably efficient Governor spent much of his early days in trying to put the finances on a sound footing after his predecessor's depredations; for the object of most was to amass as much personal wealth as possible before being recalled. Despite this persistent venality, however, they were able to rise to a crisis.

Although there were continuing disputes with Calicut and other small Malabar states, the main threat to Goa was still from the north. This came to a head during the unusually long Vice-royalty of Nuna da Cunha (1529-38), when the struggle centred around the possession of Diu. The first Portuguese assault on the city in 1531 was a disaster. Four years later their attack succeeded and a fort and factory were conceded by the ruler of Gujerat. Behind Gujerat stood the Ottoman Turks, who had overthrown the Mameluke Sultanate of Egypt. Ruthless and aggressive, they also cherished plans for founding an empire in northern India and controlling the spice trade. In 1541 these took shape in consort with Gujerat.

The Turkish admiral Suleiman Pasha assembled a great fleet at Suez to co-operate with the Gujerat land forces. The galleys were manned by 1,500 Christian slaves, and there were also a hundred free Christians among the crews. Many Venetian artificers had been taken from their ships at Alexandria and forced to assist in equipping the vessels. The main strength of the Turks lay in their artillery, well manned and heavier than that of their opponents. This superiority was dissipated when Suleiman proceeded to lay siege to the fort at Diu rather than to seek out and engage the Portuguese fleet at sea. The garrison, also besieged from the land by the Gujeratis, greatly outnumbered and inadequately equipped, displayed remarkable tenacity and courage. When the fall of the fort appeared imminent, the defenders were saved by dissension among their enemies. The Gujerati army, fearing that the large Turkish military force would be turned against them when the fort fell,

abandoned the fight, and at the approach of Portuguese naval reinforcements from the south, the great armada withdrew precipitately. The Viceroy Noronha then concluded a treaty with Gujerat; the Portuguese retained the fort, but it was to be separated from the city by a wall.

Estavão da Gama, Noronha's successor, to consolidate this victory, led a fleet to the Red Sea. Among those on board was João de Castro, subsequently to become Viceroy from 1545 to 1548. A man with a strong scientific bent, he compiled an excellent set of sailing instructions for the Red Sea from his observations on this expedition.

After sacking Massawa, on the African coast of the Red Sea, da Gama sailed north to mete out the same treatment to Suakin, a large and safe harbour through which pilgrims passed on their way to Jidda and Mecca. But the momentum was lost while the victors quarrelled over the spoils; and as time was now running out, a squadron of the faster ships was dispatched to Tor, near the then celebrated Monastery of St. Catherine, and Suez. They were too late. The Turks, warned of their approach, had heavily fortified the town and assembled a fleet of fifty galleys. Da Gama had little choice, therefore, but to withdraw rapidly to Massawa. There he found his forces short of food, decimated by sickness, and much reduced in numbers owing to a costly expedition into the interior of the promised land, Ethiopia. In response to an appeal by the Negus of Ethiopia, hard pressed by the Turks, Cristavão da Gama, brother of the Governor, had set out with 400 men. Cristavão fought his way inland but, after a year's campaigning, was overwhelmed and slain. Nevertheless, sustained by their crusading spirit the survivors fought on, and their efforts were finally rewarded, when in 1545, in co-operation with the Ethiopians, they finally defeated the Turks. This victory set the seal on Ethiopian independence, a triumphant end to the long search for the land of Prester John. The survivors, numbering less than a hundred men, settled in the country, but Ethiopia played no further role in Portuguese policy. Apart from the destruction of Turkish shipping by the several expeditions, this was the sole significant result of Portuguese activities in the Red Sea, and one which brought no lasting advantage.

The government in the 'Estado da India', as the settlements were collectively designated, continued within the rigid frame imposed by King Manuel. The Viceroy, or Governor General, resident at

Goa, was responsible for all the fortresses and their establishments from the Indian Ocean to the China Sea, subject to directives from Lisbon. Nominally responsible to him were the captains based at Mozambique, Muscat, Hormuz, Colombo and Malacca; these officers, however, were given virtually a free hand in dealing with neighbouring rulers, to wage war or plunder whenever they thought fit. The local council—the captain, chief factor and other officers—controlled the purchase and sale of all goods and collected the customs dues. The Viceroy, limited in the first place by the restriction of his term of office to three years, found it difficult to exercise firm control over these subordinates; he lacked for example the authority to institute legal proceedings against a *fidalgo* in India; all charges must be brought by the Crown before the courts in Lisbon. As the voyage home often took over six months, little progress could be made during one Viceroyalty. Ambitious or dissident officers were therefore free to dispute the Viceroy's authority or intrigue against him with the King.

A further deficiency, which was more apparent as time passed, was the lack of skilled craftsmen, particularly for shipbuilding. The Malabar, with the teak forests of the Ghats at hand, had a reputation as shipwrights but their experience was with small, light craft. Despite royal decrees and monetary inducements few of the great ships used in the Goa-Lisbon run were built in India. They became increasingly larger so as to accommodate as much cargo as possible and to overcome the shortage of crews. However, this development was not altogether an improvement, as many of these unwieldy ships were lost on the south-eastern coast of Africa on the return voyage.

At the base of the social structure were the *mesticos* and the indigenous population. This was numerous only in the largest cities and the territory contiguous to Goa, where the Portuguese stepped into the places of the former Moslem authorities. The rights of village headmen were recognized and set out by charter, and the customary land tax, collected mostly by Indian officials, was maintained. The headmen remained in control of the disposal of land, the annual auction of the rice lands which were held in common, and the performance of communal duties.

In addition there were the household and domestic slaves. Slavery had long been a feature of eastern society and throughout

the centuries there had been a traffic in slaves across the Indian Ocean to Arabia, Persia, India and the East.

The expectation that the Indian populace would be found to be Christians was soon disappointed, although communities adhering to the Syrian Church existed on the southern and eastern coasts. At first, no concerted action for proselytizing was made on a large scale; the Portuguese, in accord with the spirit of the times, had little regard for the welfare of non-Christians in general, although their hostility was directed especially against the followers of Islam. They were impressed by the qualities of a ruler of the stature of the Hindu King of Vijayanagar and by the wisdom of the Brahmins, and Albuquerque had made a half-hearted attempt to induce the Zamorin of Calicut to accept the Christian faith, but they regarded the lower castes as of no account, 'stupid and vicious, and of the lowest spirits'. The offhand manner in which Albuquerque and his successors treated the sacrament of baptism and marriage was a matter of concern to the religious orders. Years later Father Lancilotto wrote to St. Ignatius Loyola: 'These same soldiers began to baptize these people, whom they enslaved, without any respect or reverence for the sacrament, and without any catechizing or indoctrination.' A greater effort to propagate the Faith was made in the 1540s when Miguel Vaz and Diogo de Borba founded the Confraternity of the Holy Ghost. Under Vaz, as Vicar General, the heathen suffered a time of persecution—their dwellings were searched for idols, their temples destroyed, and non-Christians dismissed from office. From this point, their treatment is bound up with the story of the Inquisition in India. On the other hand, *mesticos* and Indian converts were from an early stage admitted to the secular priesthood, although not to the religious orders. Later some Brahmins became priests, but it was not until the seventeenth century that an Indian, Matheus de Castro, was consecrated a bishop *in partibus*. A change came with the benevolent despots of the next century, when the Marquis of Pombal caused Indians to be admitted to the Orders and Luis Caetano de Almeida Pimental became the first *mestico* to be appointed Governor General.

Beyond Malacca

AT MALACCA THE Portuguese had seized control not only of the trade which flowed between that centre and the countries around the Indian Ocean but also of a comparable traffic which embraced the islands and maritime countries of south-eastern and eastern Asia. This second commercial realm, as they soon learnt from the pilots and merchants of many nationalities who frequented the port, extended eastwards to the Spice Islands and northwards as far as the dimly perceived Liu-kiu Islands and 'Cipangu', now emerging as the island kingdom of Japan. The rapidity with which this new world revealed its potential wealth and the relative ease with which the Portuguese entered into the rewards of their success astonished and delighted them as much as it alarmed their old-established rivals. Within their grasp, they believed, were riches which excelled all that had then fallen to the Castilians through their discoveries across the Atlantic. Exercising great acumen they seized upon the fundamental points of the system and enthusiastically set about turning them to their advantage.

These reactions to a strange new world can be gathered from the *Suma oriental* of Tomé Pires, compiled in the first three years following the fall of Malacca. This remarkable man, apothecary, factor, merchant, and eventually first Portuguese ambassador to the Imperial Court of China, had arrived in Cochin in 1511, and was chosen by Albuquerque as possessing the requisite tact and experience to bring order into the financial affairs of Malacca. The historian Barros wrote of him that he was also 'very curious in enquiring and knowing things, with a lively mind for everything'. The *Suma* represents all that he gathered from informants in Malacca and from his own observations on two voyages in the archipelago. Significantly, he also consulted many Arab charts from which he gathered details of the islands he had not visited.

Pires quickly summed up the value of Malacca in a few striking phrases: 'In truth this part of the world is rich and more prized than the world of the Indies [the West Indies discovered by Columbus and the Spaniards] because the smallest merchandize here is gold, which is least prized, and in Malacca they consider it as merchandize. Whoever is lord of Malacca has his hand on the throat of Venice.' Placed as it were at the junction of two worlds, its future was also assured: 'Malacca is a land which cannot depreciate, on account of its position, but must always grow. It is at the end of the monsoons where you find what you want, and sometimes more than you are looking for.'

In the brief interval between the seizure of Malacca and his return to Cochin, Albuquerque set in train the investigation of this new world. Envoys were dispatched to the neighbouring kingdoms of Pegu and Siam, both active traders with Malacca and the islands, and before the end of 1513 Jorge Alvares had taken two junks to Canton River, the gateway to China. But the first major necessity was to secure the trade with the Moluccas, to enjoy which the Portuguese had come so far. Speed was also essential here, first to determine whether the islands did or did not lie on the Portuguese side of the Tordesillas counter-meridian, but chiefly to secure them before the Spanish appeared in those waters, as they had been contemplating for some years.

The command of the three vessels for the Molucca expedition was given to Antonio de Abreu; second in command of the fleet was Francisco Serrão, a man destined to play an obscure but important part in the history of the islands as a friend of Ferdinand Magellan. Also with him went two Javanese pilots and Francisco Rodrigues, 'a young man of very good knowledge, and able to make maps'. It is to him, in fact, that we owe the first European charts of the seas and lands beyond Malacca.

Coasting southern Sumatra and Java, the fleet passed north of the island of Gunong Api, at a moment of volcanic activity—'from its highest point streams of fire run continually to the sea'. Off Alor, the end of the great chain of islands which lay so close together that they appeared like a single land, they struck out north-eastwards across the shoal-strewn Banda sea to the island of Amboina and the south coast of Ceram, where Serrão's ship, being old and in poor shape, was burnt. These islands lie to the south of the true Moluccas,

but bad weather allegedly prevented de Abreu from reaching his goal. He turned instead southwards to the island of Banda where cloves were grown in considerable quantities, though they were not of the highest quality.

Banda was a collecting point not only for Moluccan cloves but for other spices and rarities from neighbouring islands, like the birds of paradise which were brought from Papua, some eighty leagues distant, and from Aru. The feathers of these birds were much in demand in northern India as plumes for headdresses. The Moslem merchants who visited the island had made no attempt to possess it permanently but returned each year, the aboriginal inhabitants generally taking to the hills on their arrival. Serrão bought a junk there and loaded it with cloves, nutmeg and mace. Early on the return voyage, the junk was wrecked on a reef, but he and nine of his crew escaped. They were fortunate enough to reach Mindanão in the Philippines (according to the chronicler Galvão) whence they were summoned to attend the King of Ternate, an island in the Moluccas, where they remained seven or eight years, 'the first *Espanhoes* that came to the Spice Islands'.

There was no first-hand information on the Moluccas until letters were received from Serrão the following year. The authorities in Malacca, naturally anxious to be fully informed on the situation, sent Antonio de Miranda to contact him; he was able to report that the Molucca kings regarded themselves as 'slaves of the King, our Lord', and were ready to consider becoming Christians. In the same year, Alvaro Coelho took two junks to the islands and returned heavily laden with spices; he was the first to reach Ternate under direct Portuguese auspices.

The fabled islands must at first have disappointed the authorities in Malacca and Goa. The two principal ones were small—Tidore a conical volcanic island eight miles in length, with a good harbour, and Ternate approximately the same size. The five islands, the Moluccas proper, had Moslem rulers who were at loggerheads with each other, a situation which favoured Portuguese prospects. Some foreign merchants were found there, but both rulers and merchants were anxious to come to terms with the masters of Malacca; 'The King of Tidore is very desirous of trading with us because the Molucca islands are going to ruin, and for the last three years they have only gathered a few cloves because of the drop of navigation since the

capture of Malacca.' Formerly, at least four junks from Malacca had arrived each season, and another four from Grisee (Gresik), a principal port on the north coast of Java. During the early years of the restored trade, Serrão remained in the islands, declining to return to Malacca. His evasiveness caused official concern, and doubts of his motives grew when news reached Malacca that Spain was preparing a fleet under the command of Magellan, a friend and correspondent of Serrão's, to attempt to reach the Moluccas by sailing westwards from Spain. But Serrão was dead by the time the Spaniards reached the islands; his removal from the scene appeared remarkably opportune.

Abreu's reconnaissance of Java was followed up in 1513, when a fleet of four vessels was sent there to load spices. Tomé Pires, who went as chief factor, has left the first modern account of the peoples of the archipelago and their way of life. After sailing past south-eastern Sumatra, they continued along the northern coast of Sunda, which he considered a separate island from Java. The men were of goodly figure—swarthy, robust men, accustomed to, and encouraging, visits from foreign merchants, but careful to resist the spread of Moslem influence. They themselves were great seafarers and well versed in fighting. With the Javanese they had a love-hate relationship, and Pires summed them up as 'chivalrous seafaring warriors, they say more so than the Javanese, taking them all in all'.

Sunda's main traffic was with the Moluccas and neighbouring islands, although Pires noted that their merchants were accustomed to bring slaves from the Maldives which they sold throughout the islands.

But however much Pires was attracted to Sunda, it was Java proper which won his unstinted admiration. Passing on eastwards from Sunda, the fleet was by now coasting the semi-independent Moslem principalities which enterprising merchant captains had carved out of the Hindu kingdom of central Java. The ruler of this stretch was the lord of Demak, Pate Rodim, said to be the son of a Chinese princess. His lands comprised the narrow coastal strip west of Tjirebon, between the mountains and the sea, and were thus isolated from the heavily populated plains of eastern Java. It was an ideal situation for a small, aggressive, seafaring community, and Pate Rodim had put it to the best advantage, having extended his possessions to Palembang in south-eastern Sumatra.

Pires did not land at any point in Demak, probably deliberately, for Rodim's past record did not suggest that he would welcome the Portuguese; in any case, Pires' main objective was to make contact with the Hindu or, as he put it, the 'heathen' kingdom further to the east. What he learned of the ruler of Demak was derived from that prince's enemies, and was not flattering. Demak had rallied his troops to aid the ex-King of Malacca, and the ensuing defeat at the hands of the Portuguese had shaken his position dramatically; he had, said Pires, 'given himself over to concubines, and his country had greatly fallen away from what it was formerly'. Without coming to terms with the new masters of Malacca he could scarcely hope to survive. The interruption of trade had in fact hit the whole region severely, and most of the merchant lords were anxious to placate the Portuguese and if possible to secure support against their rivals.

Beyond Demak, Pires put into the port of Tuban and at last made contact with Hindu Java. He was well received by the vassal ruler who gave him much information on the kingdom, its overlords and its people. As the outlet for the capital, Daha, two days' journey inland, Tuban had enjoyed a prosperous past, but since the burning of the junks at Malacca by Albuquerque its prosperity had vanished. Its former importance is evidenced in Pires' description, the only detailed one in his narrative: 'The town has a series of palisades within a crossbow shot of the sea; it is surrounded by a brick wall, partly of burnt and partly of sun-dried bricks, two spans thick and fifteen high. Around the walls on the outside are moats and on the landward side thorns and brambles against the walls which are pierced by large and small loopholes and there are high wooden platforms within.' The plains around, traversed by roads suitable for ox-wagons, were fertile, producing much rice—a principal article of export—a great variety of fruits and vegetables, and domestic animals of many kinds. Among Pires' visitors in Tuban was a nobleman from Daha, 'robust, tall, freckled, with his hair curly on the top and frizzled', who arrived on a richly caparisoned horse accompanied by an escort of ten mounted lancers. He had evidently come on a diplomatic mission, to see what manner of men the strangers were. Though they talked many times together, Pires did not report the outcome of the discussions, nor did he obtain any particulars of the capital city, but on the political situation his visitor was more forthcoming.

At this period the Hindu empire of Madjapahit in Java had declined from its former glories. The representative of the ancient royal line was still *de jure* ruler of the interior, but power had passed into the hands of a viceroy and his captains. At the time of the visit, the viceroy was Guste Pate, father-in-law of the king: 'This governor commands in every thing; he holds the King of Java in his hands, ordering him to be given food. The king has no voice in affairs, nor is he of any importance.' Guste Pate was a great fighter, who could put 200,000 men in the field, and the scourge of Pate Rodim, with whom he was constantly at war. With the loyal support of the lord of Tuban, Pires would doubtless have liked to have gone to the capital to see this powerful personage, but permission was not forthcoming. Politically, he had to be content with satisfying himself that the vassal lord of Tuban was highly trustworthy and inclined towards friendship with the King of Portugal.

Intermixed with these matters of politics and commerce, Pires noted down with enthusiasm what he saw, and also what he was told of the splendour of the royal court. 'The Javanese lords,' he reported, 'are tall and handsome; they are lavishly adorned about their person, and have richly caparisoned horses. They use krises, swords and lances of many kinds, all inlaid with gold. They are great hunters and horsemen—stirrups all inlaid with gold, and inlaid saddles, such as are not to be found elsewhere in the world.' When the king went out for recreation he was preceded by 'two or three thousand men with lances in sockets of gold and silver. These go in front; then his concubines in carts, very wantonly displayed and very well dressed; and then his wives on elephants, and each of the concubines and wives is followed by thirty women on foot, each according to her rank. And behind comes the king wandering along with his Guste Pate, and they take hounds and greyhounds, and other men bear three-pronged hunting spears beautifully inlaid'. Then there were the constant entertainments, for 'the land of Java is a land of mummers and masques of various kinds, performed by both men and women; they have entertainments of dancing and stories, with mime; they wear mummers' dresses and all their clothes. They are certainly graceful; they have music of bells—the sound of all of them playing together is like an organ. These mummers show a thousand graces like these by day and night. At night they make shadows of various shapes, like *beneditos* in Portugal'.

But it was over the Javanese women that Pires went into ecstasies: 'Where but in Java is it customary for the women of good birth to have their pomp, their clothes, their golden crowns and diadems like the Javanese? When they go out they parade in state, looking like angels. There is no doubt that in the world there are no more presumptuous women, and for this reason many die virgins in their houses when they cannot gratify themselves by marrying great people. For where does this pride spring from, if it is not natural to the country?'

Before returning to Malacca, Pires paid a brief visit to the neighbouring port of Grisee—'the jewel of Java'. It owed its importance to its central position on the coast, and to its harbour, sheltered by the island of Madura, and, trading from Gujerat to China, had once rivalled Tuban in wealth. It too had suffered heavily from the interruption to commerce. No junks had called there for the past five years, and it had not been able to dispatch any itself, for all its junks had previously been built in Siam—'Java could not build ten junks in ten years'. But their vessels, though not fit to put out to the open sea, were examples of high craftsmanship: 'They are carved in a thousand and one ways, with figures of serpents, gilt . . . they are very much painted, and look well in a very elegant way. They are for kings to amuse themselves in, away from the common people. They are rowed with paddles.'

At some unspecified date, Pires took part in another trading voyage, to Sumatra. His account is less circumstantial than that of his Java visit, but there are numerous small details which point to personal knowledge: the stone pillars (the Portuguese *padrões*) already set up at the entrance to a harbour, a river with a remarkable bore, an off-shore sounding, and so forth. His route lay along the coast round the northern extremity of the island to a point opposite the Mentawai Islands near the port of Barus. The eastern side he found was controlled by a number of small Moslem states, while the interior was held by the 'heathen'.

He described in some detail two of these states in the north, Pase and Pedir, rivals in the flourishing trade with Pegu, Bengal, the Coromandel coast and Gujerat. Both exported considerable quantities of pepper, equal in quality to that produced in southern India, but the main staple was rice, much of which went to supply Malacca: there was also fish, and gold in small quantities which

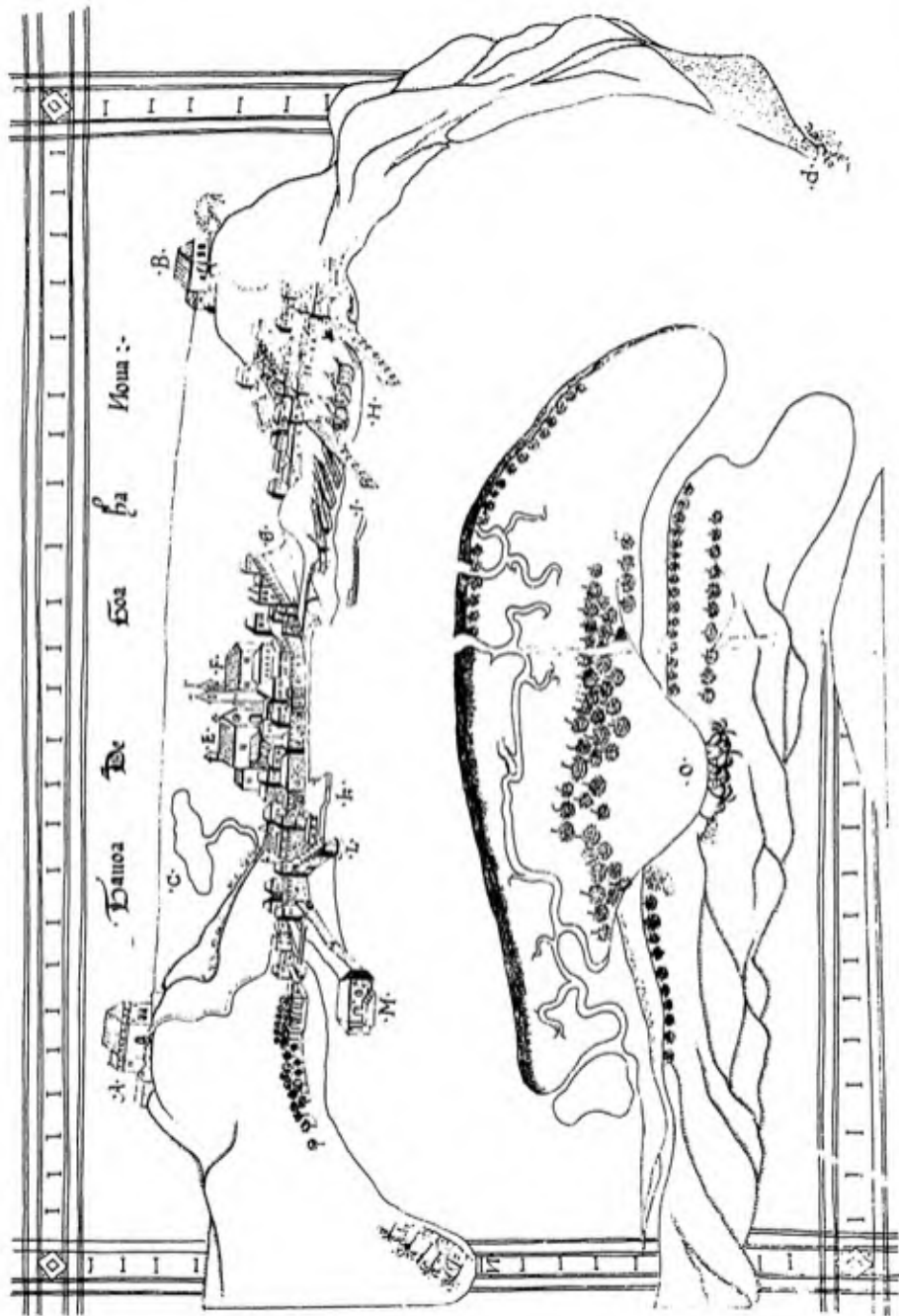


AFONSO DE ALBUQUERQUE
By de Resende

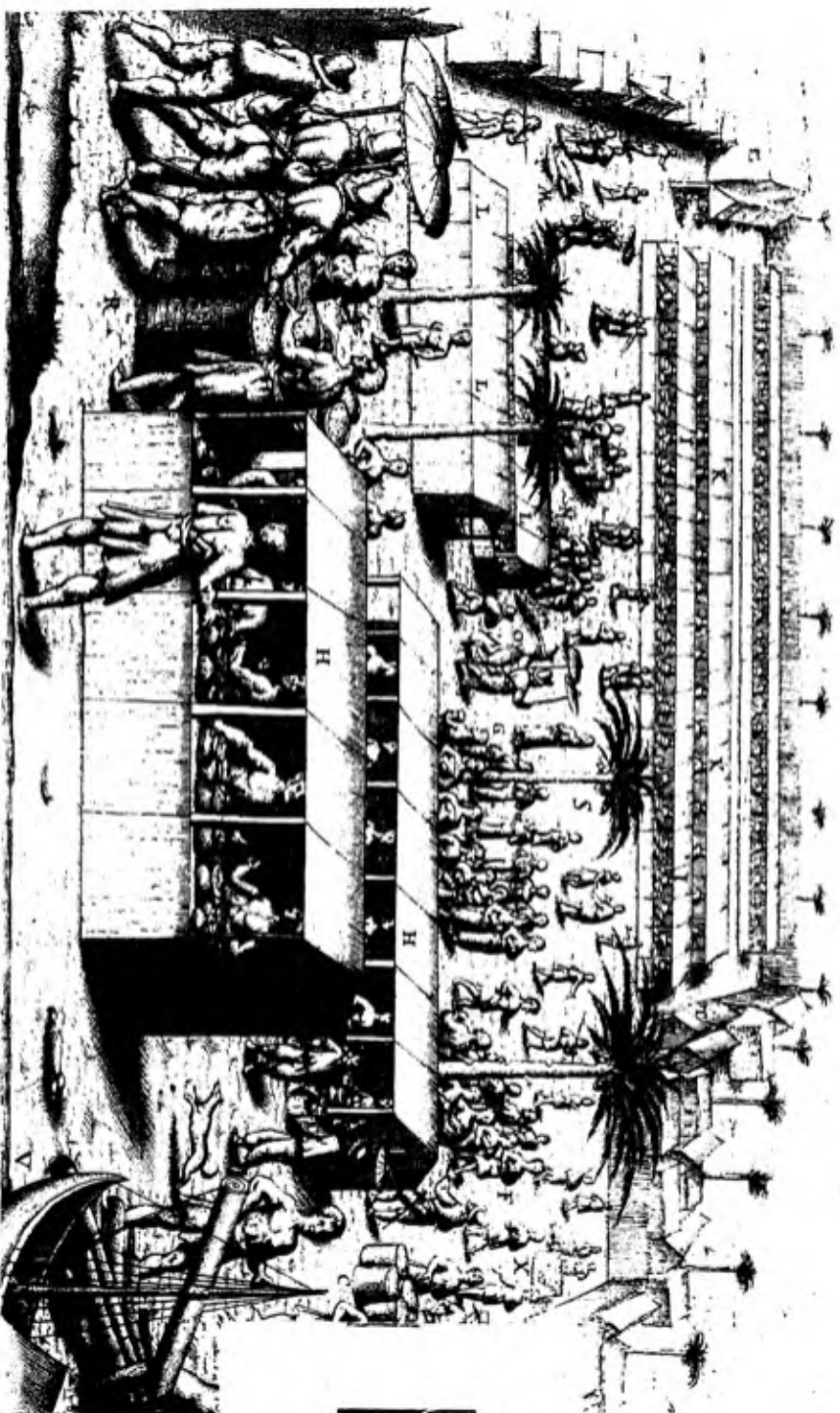
A man and woman at the Cape of good Hope



NATIVES OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
From a sketch by Thomas Herbert, published in his *Relation*, 1634



MAP OF NEW GOA
 Sketched by João de Castro



A MARKET IN THE MOLUCCAS
From Linschoten's *Relation*

filtered through from Menangkabau on the west coast. These commodities were principally exchanged for cloth of varying types, a trade in which the Gujeratis were dominant; they also brought in slaves, via the Maldive islands. Barus, another small kingdom on the west coast, bordered on the independent inland kingdom of Menangkabau, which intrigued Pires but about which he could not learn much, beyond that it was a valuable source of gold, was ruled by a powerful heathen king, and that 'in the interior it is bounded by a land of strong, brutal people of the mountain range which goes above Pase and Pedir . . . The enemies they capture they eat. They do not eat all men, but only those with whom they are at war'. There were two principal 'gold mines' in Menangkabau, seemingly alluvial deposits in river valleys; this fact, in Pires' eyes, made it the most important district in Sumatra. No Moors were permitted to visit these mines, so that the Gujeratis traded for the gold in the ports, of which Baros was the most important. To evade control at Malacca, these Arab merchants also navigated the Sunda Strait to reach the north coast of Java.

Excited though he was by such splendour and richness, Pires yet formed a shrewd judgement on the way this commerce was conducted and the policy which his countrymen should pursue. The main artery of trade eastwards of Malacca lay along the north coasts of Java and the islands in the great Indonesian arc as far as the Moluccas. The local traders who followed it did not aim to make great profits rapidly. Setting out with little capital initially, they were content with what profit they could gain from port to port: 'Selling here, selling there, making money in each place, in such a way that the time draws out, and as their sailors are slaves, they make their journeys long and profitable, because from Malacca they take merchandize to sell in Bima and Sumbawa, and from these islands they take cloth for Banda and the Moluccas, with that they have kept in reserve from Malacca. The people of Banda and the Moluccas adore them.' Some traders in this way spent two or three years in reaching their objective, following a way of life rather than an occupation. This kind of petty trading Pires considered foreign to the character of his countrymen. Time was for them the essence, for several reasons. In the first place they had to pay their crews; what was more important, their profits would come from the spices and high-value luxuries in great demand in Europe, and which it

was essential should be received for dispatch from India as speedily as possible, lest the sailing season be missed. Here, the superior qualities of the Portuguese ships could be fully utilized. He therefore advocated concentrating on the Moluccas by a more direct route: Malacca to the south coast of Borneo via Singapore, then on to Buton Island in the Celebes and Amboina, and finally to the Moluccas, leaving the Java route to the Malays, Arabs, and Javanese. This route, with monsoon winds, could be accomplished in little more than a month and was not dangerous; reports to the contrary were put about by the Moslems, who in any case were poor seamen, too ready to abandon their ships in difficulties. Those who had found their way from Portugal to the East in so short a time would not be deterred by such tales.

In the days of their empire's prime, when its sway had extended from Sumatra to the Moluccas, the Javanese had traded with the countries around the Gulf of Bengal and, they claimed, as far afield as Aden. Moslem merchants, in their turn, had effected a footing in the island, bringing their religion with their wares, and during the previous century had established control over the ports and contiguous areas. The chief export was rice, in considerable quantities, timber, some gold, and slaves. In return, the dense population offered an almost insatiable market for all types of cloth, but mainly the coarser and cheaper varieties, a great proportion of which originated in Gujerat. Since these imports were bulky but of relatively low value, and the harbour dues and sales taxes were high, the visiting merchants made little profit on them. Contrariwise, the wares they carried away were rewarding: there was, for example, a twenty per cent profit on gold at Malacca.



The news that the Portuguese were trading directly with the Moluccas was received with special interest in Spain, where the Spice Islands had been an objective of Spanish expansionists as the fulfilment of Christopher Columbus's grand design. When the Admiral was planning his fourth expedition, King Ferdinand had gone so far as to provide for the possibility of a meeting between his fleet and that of Vasco da Gama in the Indian Ocean. Subsequently, as expeditions sailed southwards along the South American coast, hopes rose that the supposed 'straight' entering

the Pacific Ocean, which Columbus had vainly sought in the vicinity of the Panama isthmus, might be found further south. Amerigo Vespucci, on his 'third' voyage to South America, had claimed to have reached 54°S., and in 1505 with Vicente Yañez Pinzon sought to organize another expedition to press further south in search of a passage towards the Spice Islands—a voyage which if successful would have anticipated Magellan's. After two years' discussion, however, the project was abandoned in the face of protests from Portugal, and lay dormant for several years.

When therefore, the Portuguese captain, Ferdinand Magellan, who had served with distinction under Almeida and Albuquerque in the East, presented himself at the Spanish court with a proposal to conduct a Spanish fleet to the islands by an alternative route to that via the Cape—in other words the completion of Amerigo Vespucci's idea—he was listened to with close attention. Magellan, returning from Goa with thoughts of emulating the deeds of his celebrated countrymen, had for reasons not altogether clear become *persona non grata* with his sovereign, King Manuel; consequently, when he put to that monarch his plan to explore a westward route to the Moluccas around the American continent, he met with a flat refusal and virtual dismissal from the royal service. Manuel's decision must have been motivated by other than personal considerations; indeed it is difficult to see what there was for Portugal in the plan. Manuel's men had reached the Moluccas by the eastern route; his line of communication with them was established, and cloves, nutmegs and other spices were being shipped to Lisbon. The proposal also opened up the thorny question of the precise relationship of the Moluccas to the countermeridian of the Tordesillas treaty. In the circumstances a Portuguese expedition through waters recognized as falling within the Spanish limits could scarcely avoid creating tension between the two countries, and the eventual beneficiary might well prove to be Spain.

Soon after his rejection by Manuel, Magellan wrote to his friend Francesco Serrão, from whom he received useful information from the Moluccas, that he would soon meet him, 'if not by Portugal, then by way of Spain'. He then publicly renounced his Portuguese citizenship and in 1517 crossed into Spain to offer his services to the Emperor Charles V. Much rhetoric has been expended by historians over Manuel's summary rejection of Magellan, represented

as a stupid repetition of John II's treatment of Columbus. This was a natural reaction when El Cano eventually brought the *Victoria* back to Spain, thus completing the first circumnavigation of the globe; it should be remembered, however, that no such undertaking was contemplated in Magellan's instructions, indeed he was expressly warned against interfering in Portuguese territories, without which a circumnavigation was scarcely possible. What rankled with Manuel was the potential threat to his Indian revenues.

Magellan's plan had several merits in the eyes of the Spaniards. In addition to being the resumption of a policy suspended for some years, it offered the opportunity of exploring the periphery of their domains and in particular of establishing whether or not the Spice Islands were on the Spanish side of the Tordesillas counter-meridian. If they were, then at last Spain might hope to reap the wealth which Columbus had promised—for until silver began to flow abundantly from the mines of Peru, Spain did not profit greatly from her activities in the New World. If they proved to be on the Portuguese side, then other sources of wealth might be discovered within her recognized bounds. After some hesitation the Emperor approved the plans, strongly supported by Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos (ironically, the man who had been bitterly hostile to Columbus), and a Capitulation, or contract, was signed, following much the same lines as that granted to Columbus.

Magellan sailed from San Lucar with a fleet of five vessels,* and following in the wake of earlier Hispano-Portuguese voyagers on the eastern coast of South America, he pushed southwards until he discovered the entrance to the Straits which now bear his name. There is no positive evidence that he had foreknowledge of their existence; he was acting on the strength of the general cosmographical arguments of his day—theories on the distribution of land masses on the globe, and the hypothesis that the South American continent would end in a similar way to the African, and in about the same latitude. His success was due to his determination to press on to as high a latitude as possible before abandoning his task.

* Of the five vessels, the *S. Antonio* deserted in the Straits of Magellan and returned to Spain; the *Santiago* was lost on the coast of Patagonia; the *S. Antonio* was burned off Bohol in the Philippines, and the *Trinidad* was destroyed after the abortive crossing of the Pacific. After returning to Spain, the *Victoria* was lost without trace on a voyage to Cuba.

After firmly suppressing a mutinous outbreak, he passed through the Straits, and tackled with equal determination the crossing of the unexplored Pacific Ocean. The extent of this ocean, first sighted by Balboa from the Central American isthmus, was known approximately from the estimated longitudes of the isthmus and the Moluccas, but there was no certainty about the conditions for navigation, or that extensive lands might not be discovered in its midst. Magellan's course, generally north-westerly, was, as events showed, governed by his desire to reach the latitude of the Philippine Islands, which Serrão had been able to give him, and then to run along the parallel until he sighted land.

At the outset, Magellan encountered the strong westerly winds known to mariners as the 'roaring forties'; to circumvent these, he sailed at first almost due north until he entered the zone of the south-easterly trade winds, which carried him in the desired direction in fair conditions. For weeks on end they sighted no land, save for two deserted islets of the Tuamotu group, to which the name of 'the Unfortunate Islands' was given. This was a serious matter, for supplies were running short and scurvy was rife. Pigafetta, the Italian chronicler of the expedition, recorded: 'We ate only old biscuit turned to powder, all full of worms and stinking of the urine of the rats which had eaten the good, and we drank impure and yellowish water.' They were eventually reduced to eating the very rats themselves, and ox-hides soaked in sea water. There could be no turning back, however, even if the thought ever entered Magellan's mind.

Having attained the parallel of 13°N. , he took a westerly course, and on March 11, 1520, anchored off the island of Guam. The ships were promptly boarded by natives who, wrote Pigafetta, 'robbed us so that we could not protect ourselves from them', and stole a small boat. Characteristically, Magellan landed a party who burnt houses and boats, and killed seven men; but this did not prevent them from collecting supplies of fruit and vegetables, including bananas and sweet potatoes. With these new provisions safely on board, Magellan sailed from the Ladrões, the 'Islands of Thieves', and maintaining the westerly course, at 300 leagues sighted the southern extremity of the island of Leyte in the Philippine archipelago, and then anchored off the small island of Suluan.

In the following days, Magellan proceeded leisurely in a south-westerly direction, and with a slave from Sumatra acting as interpreter he was piloted by the Chief of Limasawa to the considerable port of Sebu. The King of Sebu was at first disposed to resent the presence of the strangers, but warned by a merchant of the vengeance which the Portuguese had wreaked on their enemies in India, he relented and for some days Magellan and his men enjoyed an almost idyllic reception. Sebu, on the margin of the south-east Asian trading system, was frequented by merchants and junks from Malaya and consequently was accustomed to international trade. The king readily agreed to a trading agreement, goods were landed from the ships, and the king expressed the desire of his people to become Christians.

Magellan, proceeding as if his purpose was to establish a base in Sebu from which to conduct his affairs in the Moluccas—a repetition of Portuguese policy in India—set about demonstrating his power by bringing to heel certain minor chiefs who were not disposed to follow their king's example. He does not, however, appear to have learnt much from his Indian experience. Two rules went unobserved: first, never to land on a potentially hostile shore without first exchanging hostages (neglect of this was to cost the Spaniards dear); and secondly, never, unless absolutely unavoidable, to offer battle on land in circumstances where the fire power from ship's guns could not be trained on the enemy. With the intention of bringing to submission the recalcitrant chief of the neighbouring island of Mactan, he embarked, against the King of Sebu's advice, with sixty men and was rowed five miles to the village. The beach was shelving so that the boats with the bombards lay out of range offshore. The soldiers waded to the beach, but they were outnumbered by courageous opponents whose temper was further roused by Magellan's action in setting fire to their huts. In the ensuing fracas, the islanders showed much acumen in thrusting with their long lances at the exposed portions of their enemies' bodies. The Spaniards were forced to withdraw to their boats, and Magellan, defiantly covering the retreat, was fatally wounded by a lance thrust in the throat. Apart from Magellan, the Spaniards, weakened by the hardships of the long and exacting voyage, had seemingly little heart for the fight, for of the forty-eight who landed with him, forty got away; the losses of their opponents were

estimated at fifteen. Unflinching courage combined with reckless impetuosity had for Magellan brought to nothing, on the verge of success, a bold enterprise long and stubbornly pursued.

Magellan's death was very nearly the end of the expedition. With the aura of European infallibility shattered, there was a change in the attitude of the local people. The one idea of the Spaniards was to get away immediately and the goods which they had landed were at once reloaded on the ships. Before sailing, and with much misgiving, the two newly elected commanders, Duarte Barbosa and João Serrão, with twenty-five companions went ashore for a farewell ceremony. With sudden ferocity the islanders fell upon them and after a desperate fight all were killed except Serrão. Carvalho the pilot, who assumed command, bombarded the town and was preparing to sail when a crowd appeared dragging with them the wounded and bound Serrão, offering to exchange him for guns and merchandise. Carvalho callously declined and sailed away across the Sulu Sea.

A brief stop at Palawan gave the dispirited crews a much needed opportunity to recuperate and take on supplies. Then, prompted by hopes of profitable trade at the city of Brunei, they diverged from the route to the Moluccas and coasted north-west Borneo. Some trade was indeed done there, but, fearing a repetition of the disaster at Sebu, they hastily left the harbour and, turning on their track, sailed for the Moluccas. On November 8, 1521, twenty-seven months out of San Lucar, they cast anchor off Tidore, where they were well received by the king. They now learned the fate of F. Serrão. He had settled down in the islands, trading successfully in cloves and having a son and daughter by a Javanese woman. In the struggle for the overlordship of the Moluccas he had acted as Captain-general of the Ternate forces against Tidore. And Pigafetta, who at this point stated that it was Serrão who had persuaded Magellan to undertake this enterprise, also recorded that he had been poisoned eight months earlier by the King of Tidore. The circumstances of his death are obscure. Since the King of Tidore had been expecting the arrival of help from Serrão's Spanish friends, such action would be inexplicable; for this reason his death has been attributed to the Portuguese, who were well aware of his relations with Spain.

News of the arrival of the Spanish ships at Brunei was not long in reaching Malacca. This was not unexpected; when it was known

that Magellan had passed the Straits westward, the Viceroy, Lopes de Sequera, was ordered to dispatch six warships to meet the Spanish threat. Delay was caused by troubles with the Turks, but six months after the arrival of Magellan's two surviving vessels, the *Victoria* and *Trinidad*, de Brito with a strong force of seven ships and 300 armed men reached Ternate. He was told that the new Spanish commander, Sebastian El Cano, after concluding treaties with the kings, had with their ready co-operation obtained a valuable cargo of cloves, and had sailed for Spain in the *Victoria* by the Cape route. He learned also that the *Trinidad*, in poorer condition, had sailed shortly before in an endeavour to recross the Pacific to Panama, rather than face the long voyage home by the Cape.

De Brito acted high-handedly, seizing the five Spaniards who had been left with stores of spices to await a second Spanish fleet, admonished the kings for having assisted the intruders, and built a fort on Ternate. Five months later the *Trinidad* limped back after failing to make Darien, and the handful of survivors, expecting reasonable treatment, surrendered to de Brito. Despite the fact that the two countries were technically at peace and that the position of the Moluccas had not been accurately determined, de Brito promptly hung one as a traitor and dispatched the others as prisoners on a long and painful journey; only four out of the twenty-three reached Portugal.

Under the spirited and skilful leadership of El Cano the *Victoria* eventually reached San Lucar, but his crew had dwindled to seventeen; allowing for the thirteen men left at the Cape Verde Islands and subsequently set free by the Portuguese, the survivors of the expedition totalled thirty-five, out of about 200 who had sailed with Magellan. Despite the heavy losses in men and material, however, the costs of the expedition were more than covered by the value of the *Victoria*'s cargo. It is pleasant to record, in the face of his many detractors, that El Cano was rewarded by the Emperor Charles with a pension of 500 ducats and the grant of arms, which were entirely appropriate: 'Or; two cinnamon sticks in saltire proper, three nutmegs and twelve cloves; on a chief gules, a castle, or crest, a globe bearing the motto "Primus circumdedisti me", with supporters two Malay kings crowned, holding in the exterior hand a spice branch, proper.'

Encouraged by El Cano's achievement, the Emperor prepared to

send out a second fleet to the Moluccas, a project which not unexpectedly met with strong opposition from Portugal. An attempt was made at the Conference of Badajoz to come to an agreement but without result, the Portuguese representatives maintaining that there was insufficient evidence to determine the position of the counter-meridian. Finally in 1529 Charles ceded his claim for a payment of 350,000 ducats, an exchange which did not stop the Spaniards, after they had secured a foothold in the Philippines, from making two disastrous attempts to seize the Moluccas. Portugal was thus successful in resisting the first invasion by another power of the territories she claimed, but at the cost of resources which she could ill spare.

When El Cano left certain of his men in Tidore to collect spices against the arrival of another Spanish fleet, he was not merely entertaining a pious hope that relief would be forthcoming. Magellan's expedition was part of a determined policy of expansion, though the Emperor Charles was encouraged to persevere by the return of the *Victoria*.

The events of the expedition had shown that the Portuguese were not yet firmly established in the Moluccas, and that Borneo and numerous other islands were under independent rulers, by no means disposed to submit to their control. From the lively narrative of Antonio Pigafetta, the chronicler of the voyage, they learned of the existence of 'Mines of gold' in the Philippines, producing nuggets as big as walnuts or eggs which could be exchanged for iron, of the wide use of gold utensils, and of the Chinese currency in circulation. They learned also of the trade with China and something of the wealth of that Empire. From a base in the Philippines they might not only bid for the spice trade, but challenge Portugal for the mastery of the East.

Little time, therefore, was lost in dispatching another expedition under Loyasa and El Cano, following the route pioneered by Magellan. After a gruelling voyage, they came to grief in the Moluccas, and the survivors fell into the hands of the Portuguese. After this failure, Ferdinand Cortes, the Viceroy of Mexico, realized that a direct voyage across the Pacific offered more chance of success than the dangerous and time-consuming one through the Strait. Accordingly, a third expedition under Alvaro de Saavedra sailed from Mexico, but arrived too late to be of help in the Moluccas.

Attempting to return to America by a low latitude course, he sighted the north coast of a great island (New Guinea), and on a second visit sailed along it for five hundred leagues. His turning point must have lain near the island subsequently known as New Britain. To this island he gave the name 'Land of gold'. Saavedra was later lost on a return voyage to Mexico.

It was some years before the Spaniards found a practicable return route from the Philippines to Mexico; this required the pilots to make considerable northing and then to sail eastwards before the westerly winds. When this had been established, their settlement of the Philippines, founded by Miguel Lopez de Legaypi in 1565, progressed, trade was opened up with China, and a determined effort made to challenge the position of Portugal.

For a period, therefore, the Pacific remained a Spanish preserve, and few Portuguese sailed into it. Among them was one Diogo de Rocha, who, accompanied by the pilot Gomes de Sequeira, was sent to seek for gold in the northern Celebes. On the return he was driven some three hundred leagues in a generally easterly direction. Eventually, according to the chronicler Galvão, he reached an island in about 10 degrees north latitude, where he remained several months. The people were artless, of a medium colour, light rather than black (that is, Melanesians, not Papuans). From the circumstantial details, this must have been one of the western Caroline islands, probably Palau. Another navigator, de Meneses, sighted the north coast of New Guinea before Saavedra. Finally, in the south two voyages are reported which are of interest as they have been linked with a possible sighting of Australia. According to the historian, João de Barros, Diogo Pacheco, a skilled and experienced navigator, had learned in India that there were 'islands of gold' to the south of Sumatra. He accordingly sailed to the north-east coast of that island, where one of his ships was lost. In the other he reached the port of Barus. There he was told that one hundred and more leagues to the south-east, there was, among a series of bays and reefs, a low island with palm-fringed beaches; in the interior there were many black people, who exchanged large quantities of gold for cloth. Pacheco then returned to Malacca through the strait between Sumatra and Java. The following year he again sailed to Barus, but met with a hostile reception, and putting out to sea, was lost with his ship. Some of his Malay crew, however,

escaped and, crossing to the north coast of Sumatra, brought news of the disaster to Malacca. Nothing daunted, another adventurer, Christavão de Mendonca, sailed the next year for 'the isles of gold across the island of Sumatra' with three ships, but what befell him after putting in to the port of Pedir in north-west Sumatra is not recorded. On the basis of these two reports, Professor Armando Cortesão believes that Portuguese navigators reached the coast of western Australia near 'the region of Australia which records the greatest production of gold', and that reports of the discovery were suppressed by the Crown for fear that interlopers might be attracted to that quarter.*

* The question of an early discovery of Australia is discussed further in the Appendix, p. 169.

CHAPTER SIX

Early Days in China

WHILE THE PORTUGUESE were establishing control of the spice trade in the islands east of Malacca, they were also pushing northwards to obtain a share of the China trade which in the past had been a mainstay of the city's prosperity. So impressed were they with its potentialities that some were of the opinion that it would prove more rewarding than the traffic with Goa. To put this trade on an official footing, the Viceroy, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, turned to Tomé Pires, who after his return to Cochin with his report for King Manuel was contemplating retiring to Portugal to enjoy the considerable wealth he had amassed during his five years in the East. Lopo Soares had been accompanied from Portugal by Fernão Peres de Andrade, who had been commissioned by King Manuel to conduct a fleet 'to discover China', taking with him an envoy to the Imperial Court. The Viceroy promptly appointed Pires to this post, no doubt on the strength of his report, the *Suma oriental*.

However reluctantly Pires may have undertaken this task, he was seemingly not overawed by the might of China. The opening-up of the Chinese trade also promised great profits, as he had learned in the islands—'all those who take merchandize from Canton to the islands make a profit of three, four or five in every ten'. As to the dangers, he and his countrymen, elated by their success in India, were remarkably optimistic: 'The Governor of Malacca would not need as much force as they say in order to bring China under our rule, because the people are very weak and easy to overcome. And the principal people who have often been there affirm that with ten ships the Governor of India who took Malacca could take the whole of China along the sea coast.' It was recognized, however, that the Chinese were keen bargainers; as Ruy de Brito, the Governor of Malacca, reported: 'The Chinese are well versed in commerce: they

let nothing out of their hands except at the right price.' All in all, Pires thought the tales of Chinese greatness were much exaggerated: 'According to what the nations here in the East say, things in China are made out to be great—riches, pomp and state in both the land and the people—and other tales in which it would be easier to believe as true of our Portugal than of China.'

There was no doubt about the goal for which they should aim—Canton, 'the port where the whole kingdom of China unloads all its merchandize, great quantities inland as well as from the sea'; and, after vexatious delays and one false start, it was at that port that Pires landed with full ceremony in 1516. After long negotiations, Andrade was able to depart for Malacca with a very rich cargo, while Pires was left to experience the devious working of Chinese diplomacy. On various pretexts he was not allowed to leave Canton for fifteen months; indeed before his departure Simão de Andrade arrived with another fleet, expecting to find that Pires had already returned from Peking.

When at last Pires did reach Nanking the Emperor refused an audience and he was directed to proceed to Peking. Everything now worked against the success of the mission. Envoys from the ex-King of Malacca, a shadowy client of the Emperor, arrived to appeal against the seizure of Malacca; the Cantonese authorities protested against the conduct of Andrade, who was acting recklessly; and there were misunderstandings over the purpose of the mission. It transpired that the letters prepared for the Emperor stated that 'a Captain-major and an ambassador have come to the land of China by command of the King of the Franks with tribute. They have come to beg, according to custom, for a seal from the Lord of the World, the Son of Heaven, in order to yield obedience to him'. When Pires became aware of this, he strongly repudiated any such intention and insisted that he had come as an envoy to conclude a treaty with the Emperor which would permit his countrymen to trade there. The officials were adamant in refusing this concession, and accused Pires of espionage. The death of the Emperor temporarily halted the negotiations, but eventually the unfortunate interpreters were executed and the surviving members of the mission sent back to Canton, where they were treated as common criminals. Open hostilities were by then raging between the Cantonese and the Portuguese. The arrogant Andrade had been replaced by Martim

Coutino in an attempt to re-establish the trade, but he, after failing to construct a fort on shore, was ultimately driven off by a Chinese fleet, and twenty-three Portuguese were decapitated as 'petty sea-robbers'. In 1524, Pires fell ill and died in prison, eight years after he had left Malacca. The Chinese had no intention of allowing Canton to become a second Malacca; their desire was that trade should be conducted as before, with their licensed merchants carrying on business in Malacca and the islands, and that special privileges should not be granted to the Portuguese over other foreigners.

If at first the Portuguese despised the Chinese as a fighting force, the Chinese were equally contemptuous of the strangers. Christovão Vieira, one of the prisoners who escaped execution, recorded that 'the Chins hold the Portuguese in little esteem, as they say that they do not know how to fight on land—that they are like fishes, which, when you take them out of the water or sea, straightaway die'—a shrewd appreciation of the general situation. For his part, Vieira was not lacking in perception; his letters (it is not known how they were conveyed out of China) were clearly intelligence reports relating to a possible assault on Canton. The river at Canton was shallow, he wrote, so that the attacking vessels must be limited to those of 200 tons; it would be a simple operation to land directly on the dykes and to form a bridgehead which should be strongly fortified. Meanwhile the city gate must be destroyed and the treasury and the rice stores seized. The common people would then come over to the side of the Portuguese, if only because they could not exist without the rice. Vieira's plan in fact largely depended upon destroying all the small craft in the river and thus cutting Canton's vital supply line. He, also, considered the people to be poor fighters, and that once the mandarins were driven out they could be controlled without great difficulty. Taking a wider view of the situation, he was just as confident of success: for 'Canton and its province cannot be sustained without trade.' Since the arrival of the Portuguese in the East, 'goods do not come here now, nor are there goods and traders here as were wont, nor the fifth part, because all were destroyed on account of the Portuguese. This city, because of foreigners not coming and because goods do not come from the other provinces, is at present poor, for foreign trade is very necessary to it'.

Vieira laid great stress on the state of unrest in south-east China, due to the declining powers of the Ming Empire: 'The mandarins do nothing but rob, kill, whip and put to torture the people. They are worse treated by these mandarins than is the devil in hell; hence it comes they have no love for the king and his officers, and every day they go on rising and becoming robbers . . . All the people long for a revolt and for the coming of the Portuguese.' Once established in Canton, trade with India and Malacca could be restored, to the great profit of the King of Portugal.

Though Vieira's grand design was over-ambitious, events were to show that it was not entirely without foundation. While the official attitude hardened after the first Portuguese effort had been beaten off, the local authorities and merchants, on the other hand, were unwilling to abandon so profitable a commerce, or to lose the custom duties which it brought in. Thus Sino-Portuguese trade continued on an unofficial basis. Portuguese vessels would lie off the coast and all transactions with the Chinese merchants were conducted at sea, often with the connivance of the local officials. The latter were also inclined to overlook these irregularities on account of the help which the foreigners gave to beat off the raids of Japanese pirates. By the mid-sixteenth century, therefore, the Portuguese had established a profitable trade as intermediaries between the south-eastern archipelago and southern China, while at the same time they had begun to extend their activities to Japan.

In accordance with these trends, the total prohibition of foreign traders was lifted in 1530, although it was nominally still enforced against the Portuguese. The latter, by operating through Siamese and Malayan merchants and ships, were able to evade the ban to some extent, and to supplement this traffic by offshore trading. After repeated attempts to secure compliance with its instructions, the government in Peking in 1548 finally stepped in. A senior official, Chu Huan, was sent to suppress the offenders in the ports of Fukien. The smugglers in the Bay of Amoy were blockaded and eventually taken prisoner, and, rather high-handedly, Chu Huan ordered ninety-six of them to be executed. His success, however, infuriated the provincial gentry and merchants, who brought pressure on the Imperial court. An inquiry condemned Chu Huan's actions (he thereupon committed suicide) and largely cleared the prisoners. He had realized the difficulties of his position only too

clearly. As he wrote on one occasion to the Emperor, 'It is easy to exterminate robbers from foreign lands, but it is difficult to punish those who belong to the "robe and cap" class of our own country.'* The Portuguese survivors, among whom was Galeote Pereira, were sent inland and dispersed throughout south-east China.

As a result of all this commotion, foreign trade was permitted in Fukien, and by 1555 it was officially opened to the Portuguese. It is at this point that references to a Portuguese settlement at Macao begin to appear in the records. This was granted apparently in return for services rendered in beating off a particularly strong piratical attack. From the Chinese point of view, there were also advantages in installing the foreigners at a distance from Canton. Macao's early status was not clear; as far as the Chinese were concerned, the Emperor had simply ruled that 'the foreigners subject to the laws of the Empire may inhabit Macao'. This subordinate position was hotly disputed by the Portuguese but they continued to pay dues. In 1560 the settlement was granted corporate status modelled on that of Goa; shortly afterwards, during the union with Spain, and in order to prevent the Spaniards obtaining a foothold there, it was declared an integral part of the *Estado da India*.

The importance of the regional trade was evidenced by the rapid growth of Macao. Its fair, instituted in 1580 and held once or twice a year, attracted traders from the established centres in the East. A 'great ship' arrived annually from Goa, laden with silver specie and bullion, which were exchanged for silk, porcelain and gold. These were carried to Nagasaki and traded for silver, the profit arising from the higher value attached to silver by the Chinese. Until the advent of the Dutch at the close of the sixteenth century, Macao enjoyed high prosperity. In 1622 it repulsed a strong Dutch attack, but as that power came to dominate eastern waters its influence declined in proportion, although it was never entirely dissipated.

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The precise route by which Pereira and his companions were taken to exile in Kuangsi province is not clearly recorded. They travelled mostly by river, with short portages across the divides, passing through the cities of Ning-tu and Wu-chou, thence up the West River to Kueilin. There they were kindly treated until they eventu-

* Quoted from a Ming chronicle by T. Chang: *Sino-Portuguese Trade*, 1934, p. 81.

ally made their way back to the Portuguese settlement on Shang-ch'uan Island, with the connivance of Chinese merchants. In Kueilin the strangers were of great interest to the princes of the royal blood exiled in the imperial palace—'very pleasant, courteous and fair-conditioned' men, who entertained them well and honourably.

At Kucilin, about 250 miles as the crow flies from Canton, they were in a different countryside from the coastal one they already knew. Pereira thought it a dry and barren land, but with many populous cities along the rivers and on the lower hills. Beyond the high mountains to the south, infested with robbers, lay Siam and Burma. Members of the small Moslem community told him that they had come from Samarkand, and recognized his Gujerati servants as Indians; from others he heard of the Mongols of Tartary. From all this, he concluded that the province of Kuangsi was on the Chinese frontier, so that China did not border on Germany as many supposed.

It is to Galeote Periera, a keen and interested observer, that we owe the earliest account of modern China to be at all widely circulated in western Europe. Written shortly after his return from China, a version in Italian was published at Venice in 1565. Richard Willis translated this for his *History of travayle in the West and East Indies*, the first English collection of voyages. Gonzales de Mendoza also used it for his *Historia de las cosas mas notables . . . del gran Reyno de la China*, which appeared in Rome in 1585, and the English translation of this, published three years later, was another channel by which it reached English readers.* This was the picture of China, therefore, which was in the minds of Richard Hakluyt, John Dee and other English cosmographers and promoters of overseas expansion when they planned to reach that country by way of the Arctic Passages.

Pereira was impressed by the great size of the population, not only in the cities and towns but also in the countryside, particularly along the coasts. 'You cannot go one mile but you shall see some borough, town or hostelry, the which are so abundantly provided of all things, that in the cities or towns they live civilly.' In contrast to this, 'such as travel abroad are very poor, for the multitude is everywhere so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarm a

* Boxer, C. R., *South China in the sixteenth century*, 1953.

number of children, where a man would not have thought to have found anyone at all'.

To support this dense population, the land was intensively cultivated—'not one foot of ground is left untilled', and the greatest use was made of human manure: 'the dung farmers seek in every street by exchange to buy this dirty ware for herbs and wood. The custom is very good for keeping the city clean'. Poultry, swine and goats were very numerous, but not sheep. Beef was scarce in Fukien, less so in inland provinces, but in general food was plentiful. 'But it so falling out, that the Chins are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed upon all things, specially upon pork, the fatter that is, unto them the less loathsome.' Fish from the sea and the rivers was also an important article of diet. Pereira was greatly intrigued by the use of cormorants for fishing, a system operated on a large scale; he watched as 'at the hour appointed to fish, all the barges are brought together in a circle where the river is shallow, and the cormorants, tied together under the wings, are let leap down into the water, some under, some above—worth the looking upon. Each one as he hath filled his bag, goeth to his own barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fish again. Thus having taken good store of fish, they set the cormorants at liberty, and do suffer them to fish for their own pleasure'. Other supplies were obtained from the numerous and well-maintained fish ponds.

Pereira was as enthusiastic over the cities as Marco Polo had been. Describing Fuchow, where he and his companions were held prisoner for a time, he wrote: 'The city of Fuchow is very great and mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and as it may seem by the breadth thereof, filled up in the middle with earth, the watchtowers covered with tiles and with galleries very well made, that one might dwell therein. The stairs they use are so easily made, that one may go them up and down a-horseback as eftsoons they do. The streets are paved as already it has been said . . . The city standeth upon water, many streams run through it, the banks pitched, and so broad that they serve for streets for the city's use. Over the streams are sundry bridges both of timber and stone, that being made level with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges to and fro, the channels are so deep. Where the streams come in and out of the city be certain arches in the wall; there go in and out their *paroas*, that is a kind of barge they have,

and this only in the day-time. At night these arches are closed up with gates, so do they shut up all the gates of the city. These streams and barges do ennoble very much the city, and make it as it were to seem another Venice. The houses are all low but well made, not lofted except it be somewhere in merchandize is laid. It is a world to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houses are built low, as I have said, and do take a great deal of room.' The skill of the masons was also a source of astonishment; he examined one tower built of stone blocks, 'each one forty handfulls or spans long; in breadth or compass twelve, as many of us did measure them' (approximately thirty feet by nine). Pereira's conclusion was that 'there could be no better workmen for buildings than the inhabitants of China'. The city was alive with activity: 'There be a great number of merchants; every one hath written in a great board at his door such things as he hath to sell. In like manner every artisan painteth out his craft. The market places be large; great abundance of all things there to be sold.'

All these multitudinous and active people were governed by a rigid autocracy through a thoroughly organized bureaucracy. At the head stood the Emperor and beneath him the thirteen provincial governors and treasurers. These were assisted by a chief justice and a military commander, and civil servants drawn from the Mandarin classes. Control over the provincial governments was exercised through travelling commissioners who made annual tours of inspection through each province, 'with full authority in such wise that they do call unto an account the *Tutoes* (governor-generals) themselves, but their authority lasteth not in any one shire longer than one year'. Two aspects of government interested Pereira particularly, the examinations for civil servants and the administration of justice. At the examinations conducted by the travelling commissioners, 'many things are asked of them, whereunto if they do answer and be found sufficient to take their degree, the commissioner by and by granteth it them, but the cap and girdle by which they are known to be *Louteas* [Mandarins] they wear not before that they be confirmed by the King. Their examination done, and trial made of them, such as have taken their degree . . . remain chosen to do the King service in positions which depend on learning'. Those who failed, through ignorance or default, were whipped and sometimes sent to jail for a term; Pereira met many of them there. The Mandarins, treated

everywhere with great respect and ceremony, were widely feared by lesser folk for the summary punishment they meted out to petty malefactors while maintaining public order. If caught in the commission of a crime, the offender was executed on the spot.

Despite his experiences, or rather because of them, Pereira admired the system of justice and the conduct of cases in court. He praised the practice of examining the accused in open court, where any of those present could submit evidence. 'This good cometh thereof, that many being about the judge to hear the evidence, and bear witness, the process cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with us.' If it appeared, however, that the witnesses had not told the truth, they were subjected to 'torments and whips'. Pereira also praised the judges for taking the notes of evidence themselves, in cases of great importance, and not entrusting this task to the notaries.

Once sentence had been passed, the plight of the prisoner was lamentable. No thief or murderer was ever pardoned; with a wooden yoke around his neck and his hands manacled, the criminal 'is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found [fed] as long as they do live. The board [yoke] aforesaid so made, tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, and letting them to eat commodiously, their hands being manacled in irons under that board, so that in fine there is no remedy but death'. Those that survived this treatment lay awaiting the travelling commissioner. Once a year he examined their cases; many were judged to have been wrongfully sentenced and were released. At the end of his visitation he selected seven or eight of the greatest malefactors who, to terrorize the populace, were then beheaded in public. Those who survived that day might be sure that they 'shall not be put to death all that year following, and so remain at the King's charges in the greater prison'.

One cannot but feel that Pereira's eulogy of Chinese justice arose largely from the fair treatment he received and his fortunate delivery. Indeed the following passage tends to show that his attitude was founded on a personal grudge against Portuguese justice. 'We poor strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lies and fallacies that they did write, neither did we stand before them with the usual ceremonies of that country, yet did they bear with us so patiently, that they caused us to wonder,

knowing specially how little advocate or judge is wont in our own country to bear with us . . . I do not know a better proof of praising their justice than the fact that they respected ours, we being prisoners and foreigners. For wheresoever in any town of Christendom should be accused, unknown men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents' cause would have; but we in a heathen country, having for our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole town, wanting an interpreter, ignorant of that country language, did in the end see our great adversaries cast into prison for our sake, and deprived of their offices and honour for not doing justice, yea not to escape death, for as the rumour goeth, they shall be beheaded—and now see if they do justice or no?' Most of what Pereira wrote of China was corroborated by Gaspar da Cruz, a zealous and sympathetic missionary who arrived in Canton in 1556 after failing to enter Cambodia. He too deplored the arrogance and cruelty of the Mandarins—'With how much piety and leisure they kill, with so much cruelty and speed they whip'—and gives a terrifying account of beatings with the bamboo.

For the general behaviour of the common people, their courtesy, industry and frugality, he had a high regard. Refuting the general belief of foreigners that the Chinese were not good fighters, he declared: 'They are very cunning and clever in all things, for they have a great natural vivacity and ingeniousness. And thus in warfare they make greater use of strategy and of numbers than they do of strength, albeit they attack bravely.' The belief that slaves were a part of Chinese society was also false. There were certainly domestic slaves, mainly but not always female. Their status, however, was much superior to that of negro slaves elsewhere. Their sale was prohibited; if a Portuguese said he had bought a slave in Canton he had obtained it clandestinely and illegally.

Since he was confined during his six months' stay to the city and its environs, da Cruz was able to observe the manifold activities of the port and the busy life of its people. Though foreign commerce was frowned upon, he noted the flourishing trade with India, Siam and Java. The most highly regarded exports were richly worked cloths (which, he said, were kept back from the Portuguese), high-quality porcelain, the manufacture of which he described at some length, and dressed rhubarb brought from Szechuan. The Portuguese settlements also took large quantities of pork. But it was the

highly skilled work of the innumerable craftsmen which excited his admiration. 'They have continually,' he wrote, 'many boxes made of many sorts, some varnished with a very fair varnish [lacquer], others painted, others lined with leather, and likewise of other sorts. They have continually a great number of chairs made, some of very fair white wood, and others fairly gilt and silvered, very finely wrought . . . Of little boxes gilt, and platters, and baskets, writing desks and tables, as well gilt as with silver, there is no count nor better. Goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, ironsmiths, and of all other trades, there be many and perfect workmen, and great abundance of things of every trade, and very perfect'. It was this *chinoiserie* which was to become the rage in Europe in the following century. As in the East generally, trade was conducted without a general currency; silver bullion, and some gold, was the medium for exchange, the metal being weighed out on portable scales.

On the prospect for the evangelization of China da Cruz was not wildly optimistic. The great obstacle facing the missionaries was state policy, the rigid conservatism which rejected anything new 'so that whatsoever novelty appeareth in the country, the Mandarins take order forthwith how to repress it, and it goeth no further'. Balancing this to some extent was the attitude of the common people, who held their gods and priests in little esteem, despite the assiduity with which they tended their images, and who were ready to accept the truth when it was put to them. Da Cruz himself had experience of this courtesy and tolerance. On a visit to a temple he had thrown down 'certain stones set up which they worshipped'. Though the priests turned on him angrily at first, they allowed him to state his case: 'They asked me why they should not adore them, whereon I showed them how they were better than the stones, since they had the use of reason, feet, hands and eyes, wherewith they did divers things that the stones could not do; and that seeing they were better, they should not abase and esteem so little of themselves as to worship something so vile, being themselves so noble. They answered me that I was very right, and they went out with me in company, leaving the stones on the ground; so that I found in these people this likelihood and disposition for them to become Christians'. Not surprisingly, da Cruz signally failed to understand Buddhism. 'They had not even one God, but worship the sun, the moon and the stars, and all the images they make without respect, and not

only these but whatsoever stones they erect on the altars in their temples. These gods they called "Omitoffois". This last statement shows the extent of his confusion, for Professor Boxer has shown that the word stands for O Mi To Fo, or the 'Buddha of boundless light'.

The conclusion at which da Cruz eventually arrived, as did the Jesuits, was that the only hope lay in the dispatch of an embassy to the Imperial Court to obtain a licence for religious men to travel through the country. This might be forthcoming if they demonstrated that 'Our faith is no prejudice to his dominion and government, but a great help that all might obey him and keep his laws'. Meanwhile, however, there were the restrictions against strangers, and reluctantly he complied with them: 'Because I and those who were with me had been for a month in Canton, they set up written boards in the streets, that no man should keep nor harbour us in their houses under pain of so much, until we held it our best cheap to go to the ships.'

Contemporary with Pereira and da Cruz, there was another traveller and recorder who popularized many of their comments, besides adding much curious information collected over twenty years in the East, claiming among other achievements to have been the first European to 'discover' Japan. This was the celebrated and versatile Fernandes Mendes Pinto (1509-83), whose narrative, the *Peregrinação*, published thirty years after his death, was for a century the most popular of all accounts of the East.

Mendes Pinto arrived in Goa about 1540, and after serving as an agent of the Viceroy and engaging in trading ventures, he encountered in Malacca a certain Antonio de Faria, a freelance trader with a piratical bent, who had already made and lost three fortunes in the lawless conditions prevailing east of Malacca. Attracted by the prospect of great wealth, Pinto threw in his lot with him in a voyage to the coast of China. Having tracked down and destroyed a Malay pirate with whom Faria had maintained a long vendetta, the expedition sailed to the port of 'Noundy' on that coast. This city (unidentified), on the excuse that its people had inflicted indignities on Portuguese prisoners, was assaulted and sacked in the customary manner. Pinto commented on the final scene: '[Faria] having spent an hour and a half, he seeing night now come on, set fire in ten or twelve parts of the citie, which being built of pine timber, suddenly

rose into such a flame, that it seemed a Hell. And without impediment, he embarked his company with much riches, and many faire Girls tyed by fours and fives with Match [fuse cord], they crying, ours triumphing.'

The victors sailed off with their loot to 'Liampoo' (a settlement near Nanking) where according to Pinto there was a flourishing colony of Portuguese merchants. There they received a triumphal reception in recognition of the defeat of a notorious pirate and the sacking of Noundy, de Faria being hailed as a worthy successor of the heroes of antiquity. (These goings on naturally offended the puritanical Samuel Purchase when he came to translate this portion of the narrative for his *Pilgrimes*: 'I should wearie you to let you see the rest of this pompous spectacle and more to hearing their Orations preferring him before Alexander, Scipio, Annibal, Pompey, Caesar.') For five months the victors rested on their laurels, the time spent in hawking, fishing and feasting. While uncertain of his next move, Faria was approached by a Chinese, 'a famous Pyrat called Similau', with an attractive but daunting proposition. They were to co-operate in a raid upon a large group of royal tombs on an island called Calempluy in a river near the northern boundary between China and Tartary. After some reluctance—he suspected Similau's motives and was fearful of the dangers attending a voyage 'into seas never before seen or navigated by the Portuguese'—Faria was won over by the prospect of a rich reward, and Pinto also agreed to take part. True to his liking for providing meticulous detail, he stated that they sailed off in two ships with a complement of a priest, fifty-six Portuguese fighting men, forty-six Malay sailors, and forty-two slaves.

Calempluy appears to have lain a considerable distance from Liampoo in a general northerly direction. Similau, in order to avoid the closely frequented and settled Gulf of Liaotung, planned to sail to a point well to the north of the island and then to approach it by ascending a great river. The distances and courses sailed, as given by Pinto, cannot easily be reconciled, but with some give and take, it is possible to produce a route which took them from the coast of Korea through the Korea Strait and along the continental coast. Early on, they put into a small estuary where 'the people are white, of good stature, with very small eyes like the Chinese, but very different to them in clothing and language'.

These were probably Koreans, who refused to have any dealings with them.

They sailed on through the Strait, still in sight of fine cities and very rich towns. The climate was now growing colder. They put into a magnificent harbour, but again Faria was unable to obtain any information on the route. Twenty-eight days later they arrived at the mouth of the great river they were seeking. Inspired by a harangue from the priest, and told by Similau that the island was not far up the river, they set out upstream. They were now passing through wild mountainous country clothed in forest so dense that the sunlight was excluded. As they passed they witnessed a strange episode—a war between the larger and more ferocious animals, tigers, rhinoceroses, and lions, and the smaller creatures, stags, wolves and monkeys (an allegory of the wars waged by the Portuguese on the eastern peoples?). At another time they made contact with a party of wild people: men of tall and heavy stature, but well proportioned, with a farouche expression—large lips, flat noses with wide nostrils. They were clothed in tiger-skins, barefooted, and with reddish hair falling to the shoulders. Their sole weapon was a long stick half bound with leather. They tended cattle, and lived on flesh and blood. The women were not so tall as the men, and wore their hair longer, decorated with flowers, and had chains of red shells round their necks as large as oysters and wide bracelets of tin on their arms. Their voices were very disagreeable, and in general their appearance was rude and gross; all in all, they were less governed by reason than any people the Portuguese had so far encountered. They were much given to dancing to the beat of a tambourine. Their language was incomprehensible to any of their visitors, but by means of signs there was an exchange of porcelain, pieces of taffeta, and a quantity of pepper, for three cows and a stag.

The navigation continued for another three weeks, through unpopulated country, by an undefined route, until they found themselves once again in the Gulf of Liaotung. They then ascended another river in which the long-awaited island was said to lie. As they approached it, after a journey of two and a half months, Similau and most of the Chinese absconded and were not seen again, but despite this blow, Faria determined to continue. At the head of his fighting men he landed on the island and broke into one of the

'hermitages' (from the description, the island was the site of a large Buddhist monastery; the tombs were those of saints, not kings).*

To their surprise, the intruders were faced by a single aged priest. While his men defiled and plundered the monastery, destroying the altars and breaking open the tombs, Faria and the ancient conducted a long duologue. Faria attempted to represent himself, somewhat unconvincingly, as a Siamese pilgrim reduced to poverty by overwhelming misfortune, who owed his life to the mercy of Providence. He was asking for alms which he undertook to repay within three years. When the priest pointed to the scenes amidst which the conversation was taking place, Faria's excuse was that he was temporarily in the hands of the rapacious soldiery. To this the priest replied: 'If as you say, you have been saved by divine providence, what gratitude do you show by violating his holy house, and how will divine justice treat you for this great sin when you are drawing your last breath?' Faria continued to prevaricate, while his men continued to loot. The priest then delivered his final homily. 'Since, as you say, necessity has driven you to this crime, and that given time and opportunity you intend to make it good, there are three things you must do; before you die, return all that you have taken, that you may enjoy the clemency of our sovereign lord; chastise your body constantly, day and night, for this odious sin; and distribute your goods to the poor as liberally as to yourself, giving alms with prudence and wisdom. In return for this advice, I ask you to instruct your men to collect the bones of these saints that they be not trodden underfoot.' Faria then called a halt to his soldiers' blasphemous activities, and declaring that he would traverse the world as a penance to purge his sin, departed with a great amount of plunder.

That night the party debated the next step; Faria was for looting the other hermitages, but the majority, learning that the alarm had been given and the countryside was rising against them, wished to depart immediately. Much against his will, and after a display of frustrated rage, Faria was obliged to give way. The journey was resumed and they returned to the open sea, entering it at a point on the coast which they had sighted on the outward voyage.

Their troubles were by no means over. On course for Liampoo they were hit by a typhoon; Faria's vessel was lost with all hands

* Collis, M.: *The Grand Peregrination*.

while Pinto and a handful of survivors were stranded on a rocky and deserted shore. Struggling painfully along to find succour, three of the party were drowned while attempting to cross an arm of the sea. The remainder eventually reached a village whose inhabitants, though poor, received them kindly and directed them to a hospice where they were willingly entertained for some days. Making their way towards Nanking they were taken for brigands and maltreated but eventually allowed to proceed.

Their next ordeal came when by ill luck they attracted the attention of an evil man, a Mandarin on a three-year tour of inspection, who had them arrested and thrust into Nanking prison, despite their plea that they were Siamese seeking employment as boatmen. They were sentenced to severe flogging and to have their thumbs cut off, and the first part of the sentence was duly carried out. However they recovered in hospital, where they were well treated, and after a visit by two officials 'in violet satin and carrying white sceptres', they were given leave to appeal to Peking.

Pinto describes the journey from Nanking to Peking by the Grand Canal in more detail than is usual with him: the numerous and hard-working peasantry, their careful use of manure and their addiction to duck-raising and egg hatcheries. Looking at the rural scene as a whole, he thought the Chinese well advised to remain at home, carefully cultivating the land, rather than to roam over the seas of the world—a sentiment which reflects a principal tenet of Confucianism. Into the itinerary he also introduced several intriguing incidents. At Junquileu he noted the tomb of the envoy whom the King of Malacca had sent to seek redress against Albuquerque.* At the next city of importance, Sampitay, while begging for alms he was approached by a woman who, displaying a cross tattooed on her shoulder, said she was Inez de Leiria, the daughter of Tomé Pires, the ambassador, and a well-to-do Chinese lady. She entertained the prisoners in her home, and although she and her family were unable to speak Portuguese, they could recite certain prayers. Inez was also able to bribe the guards to give better treatment to their prisoners.

Finally they reached Peking, and were incarcerated in one of the large prisons; conditions were severe, and they witnessed twenty-seven men being whipped to death. The result of their trial, an

* Cortesão suggests that Junquileu is Wei-ch'ueh lou; and Sampitay, Hsin P'ei t'ai.

account of which is embodied in a confused description of the judicial system, was a reversal of the sentences, with the proviso that they put in two years' hard labour on the Great Wall. Pinto, like all his contemporaries, was much intrigued by this construction, hitherto unknown to the West, and described it in some detail. Built by an early Emperor 'for a bulwark to his empire', it extended for 615 miles from the coast north of Peking into the interior, not continuously but filling gaps between mountains. He claimed not only to have seen but to have measured it, finding it to be thirty feet in height and ten feet at its widest. 'It is made of lime and sand, and plastered on the outside with a kind of bitumen which renders it so strong that no cannon can demolish it.' At intervals along it there were watch-towers, two stages high and strongly buttressed with a certain black wood, so that they were far stronger than if they had been made of lime and stone. Pinto's description is accurate, except for the length of the Wall, which is 1,500 miles. He was evidently writing of a different portion from that which da Rada referred to as 'a magnificent boundary-wall of square stone, 600 leagues long'.*

Pinto's term of enforced labour coincided with a great Tartar foray which devastated the vicinity of Peking. The raid proved abortive, and Pinto and two companions were carried off by the retreating force. Traditionally, the Tartars were well disposed to foreigners and made good use of their services; in this instance, the Tartar ruler listened with interest to Pinto's account of foreign countries, and promised to help him and his companions on their way home. The first stage in the long journey was to his capital, perhaps in the Ordos country, in the great bend of the Yellow River. There the travellers were allowed to join the train of an ambassador from the King of Cochin China. Few details of the route are given by Pinto; the narrative is mainly an account of interviews with various potentates, lay and religious, and a confused account of the general geography of central Asia. But they travelled generally in a southerly direction, passing by a vast lake from which four great rivers rose: the Mekong running through Siam; the Salween debouching into the Gulf of Martaban; the Irrawaddy reaching the sea in the same area; and a fourth, of equal magnitude,

* The wall, according to the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 'varied in height, in material, etc., according to the importance of the different localities: stone, brick and earth being all used in its construction'. It was built in the reign of the 'First Emperor', circa 220 B.C.

which Pinto believed to be the 'Ganges of Sategan in the kingdom of Bengal', obviously the Bramaputra in its lower course. Although the lake itself was a myth, Pinto's statement reflects some knowledge of the hydrography of south-east Asia.

A part of the route seems to have lain down the Mekong and then the Red River to the capital of Cochin China, modern Hanoi. From there, on the instructions of the king, they were conveyed to Shang-ch'uan Island, not far from Macao. Too late to board the annual fleet for Malacca, they went on to Lampacao, where almost inevitably a quarrel broke out among them over their next step; in the end they embarked on the junk of a Chinese merchant which was sailing northwards. Again hit by a storm, they were driven beyond the Ryu Kyu Islands and, when the weather cleared, they sighted a column of smoke on the horizon; making for the shore, they were approached by two small boats, and informed that they were off Tanegashima, south of the island of Kyushu, Japan. While the Chinese merchants engaged in trade, Pinto and his two companions were hospitably entertained, 'for it is the custom of the people of Japan to be naturally very courteous and of good company'. The prestige of the strangers was much increased when Diogo Zeimote, one of Pinto's companions, instructed the officials in the use of the arquebus which he had with him.

After some pleasant weeks, a messenger arrived from the King of Bungo (north-east Kyushu) requesting that one of the visitors should be sent to his court to be questioned about the countries through which he had passed. Pinto was chosen for this mission because, characteristically, he was considered by the Japanese to be less stolid and of a gayer disposition than his companions, and thus a better entertainer for the king, who happened to be ill. They were also unwilling to part with Zeimoto, for they had a great talent for meticulous reproduction, and were now busily engaged in copying his arquebus. Within a short time they had made 6,000 such weapons, and had also been instructed in the manufacture of gunpowder; and when Pinto returned some fifteen years later, he estimated that there were more than 30,000 firearms in Fucheo alone. Pinto soon became on excellent terms with the King of Bungo, whom he cured of his illness, and after much talk and good entertainment, the Portuguese were allowed to depart, having spent six months in the country.

The year in which Pinto 'discovered' Japan is open to doubt; supporters of his claim contend that it was 1541. The chronicler Antonio Galvão recorded that the first Portuguese to land in Japan was Antonio da Mota. Accompanied by two companions, he had while sailing to Liampo in 1542 been blown off course and eventually sighted islands in 32°N. latitude—'os Japoes'—which they took to be the celebrated Cipangu. Galvão made no mention of Pinto, so that, as there is no clear contemporary evidence to support Pinto's claim, it is not generally accepted. There is no doubt, however, that he was in Japan at a very early date, where, as will be seen, his path crossed that of a more famous man, Francis Xavier.

Once the Portuguese, in their insatiable search for trade, had encountered Japanese raiders on the south-east China coast, it could only be a matter of time before they pushed on to discover the island kingdom. The prospects of profitable commerce stimulated much excitement, and the cupidity of the Lampacao merchants raised the price of exportable goods inordinately. While piously deploring this display of greed and uncontrolled love of gain, Pinto nevertheless embarked on one of the nine junks which sailed to follow up his 'discovery'. Misfortune again struck; seven of the junks were lost in a storm with all hands, while the eighth, on which Pinto was sailing, was separated from the other survivor. The captain, Gaspar de Mello, ordered the two masts to be cut down, but so inefficiently was this done that the mainmast fell on fourteen men, five of whom were Portuguese, 'who were all destroyed, and each in a thousand pieces' (Pinto was never the one to spare precise, horrific detail!). Once more he and a handful of survivors were washed up on a deserted shore, one of the Ryu Kyu islands, or perhaps Formosa. And once again they were hospitably received, except that this time they were formally brought before a local court for examination, and endured a searching enquiry into the conduct of the Portuguese and the character of their rule in the East.

The judge opened the proceedings with a vital question: 'I much wish to know why your countrymen, when moved by extreme cupidity they seized Malacca, killed our people with so little pity, as is testified by widows living in our country.' Pinto made the stock reply that such was the fortune of war; the Portuguese had never committed theft. This reply startled the judge: 'What are you saying? Can you deny that the conqueror never despoils the con-

quered; that he who employs force never kills; that to be greedy is not to steal? It is plain that in permitting you to be cast away, God was dealing justly with you.' The Portuguese were then returned to custody, with the judge's promise that in delivering his decision he would take into consideration the plight to which they had been reduced.

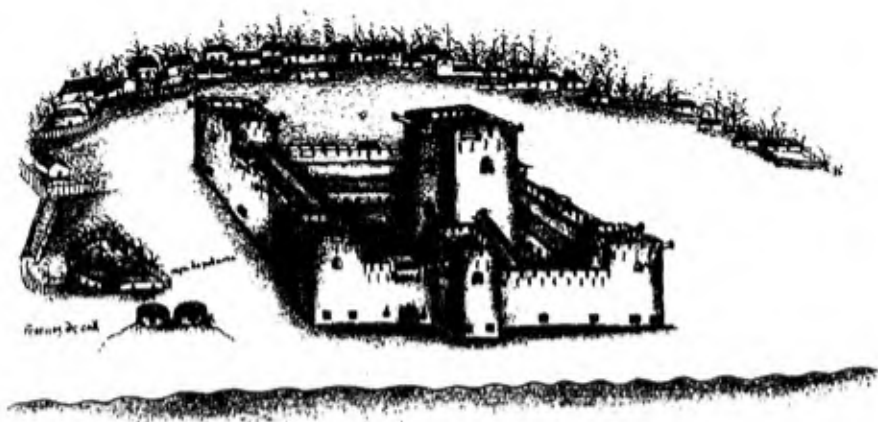
In the meantime, the Chinese merchants had conducted a campaign of words, vilifying the behaviour of the Portuguese in general, the result of which was that Pinto and his companions were left to languish in prison for a further two months. There they were visited by an emissary of the king in disguise, who cross-examined them on their motives and conduct, and finally reported in their favour. But before they could be freed, their lives were put in jeopardy by the arrival of a Chinese pirate, who was a sworn enemy of the Portuguese, having suffered a heavy defeat at their hands, in which he had lost two junks and 300 men. The King granted him asylum, listened to his complaints, and promptly ordered the execution of the prisoners, who were only saved by a last-minute intervention by the Queen. Pinto was eventually able to return to Malacca.

For a century after its publication, the *Peregrinação* enjoyed an astonishing popularity—nineteen editions appearing in six languages; a recent critic, Maurice Collis, goes so far as to express the opinion that 'most educated people in Europe had read it before 1700. By that date Pinto had as many readers as Cervantes'. This popularity was due not to appreciation of its geographical or historical value, but to the seemingly incredible adventures and strange peoples which it described with a wealth of detail for a public almost totally ignorant of the East and its life. Just as Marco Polo had been mocked for his 'wonders', so Pinto came to be regarded as a teller of outrageous tales, so that to the dramatist William Congreve he was 'a liar of the first magnitude'. Recent research, however, has shown that, on the contrary, Pinto had taken the trouble to gather much historical material, on Burma and Siam especially, and that on contemporary conditions he was writing from wide and accurate knowledge. It was the form in which he cast his book that caused misunderstanding, particularly in writing of the series of journeys and discoveries which he boldly claimed to have made in China and Japan. If this part of his book is factual, then Pinto was the first in modern times to reach Peking and to

give an account of the Imperial city; the first since the medieval travellers to journey through Tartary and the western borders of China, from Peking to Cochin, and the first European to 'discover' Japan and to introduce it to western ways—an extraordinary record of travel. When, however, the general temper of the narrative is studied, and an attempt made to elucidate the itineraries, it is extremely difficult to accept the book as a record of actual journeys. From the narrative of the expedition to Calempuy, as printed, it is impossible to construct a credible itinerary, and the same may be said of the journey through Tartary. If Pinto were ever near the sources of the great rivers of south-east Asia, amid plateaux over ten thousand feet above sea-level, with a harsh climate, and in difficult travelling conditions, he gives little indication of this in his book. The general conception of the great lake from which these rivers flowed is found in Chinese cosmographies of the period, and appeared on late sixteenth-century European maps.

Some hints of his purpose can be discerned in the incidents which he described so vividly. In reading them, one is struck by the way in which they parallel authentic events in the story of Portuguese India. For instance, his account of the burning of an Arab vessel in the Indian Ocean recalls the similar incident which took place during da Gama's second voyage, an incident which shocked the oriental world; the pomp and boasting which accompanied Faria's arrival in Liampoo is surely a satirical reference to João de Castro's triumphal return to Goa after the victory at Chaul, proceedings which incurred severe criticism even in Lisbon; and, to mention one other, the outrage at Calempuy recalls the expeditions undertaken by the Portuguese to demolish Hindu temples in southern India.

The conclusion to be drawn is plain. Pinto's purpose was to bring home as forcibly as possible what the Portuguese incursions into Asia, from Arabia to Japan, had entailed for that continent. The main theme running through it is the misery and destruction which Portuguese activities had brought upon the peoples of the East, and to a large extent upon themselves. The dramatic interviews with rulers and priests, which can hardly be accepted as verbatim reports, hammer home the lesson that these peoples had cultures and religions no less worthy of respect and toleration than those of Europe. Considering that the book had to pass official censorship,



THE FORT AT CALICUT



THE PORTUGUESE CHURCH AT SAKAI
Japanese painting of the Tensho period (1573-1585)

Photo: Freeman



THE FIRST PORTUGUESE SHIP TO REACH JAPAN
Sixteenth-century Japanese painted screen

Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum



MING MANDARIN EXAMINING PRISONERS
from the *Jên-ching-yang-ch'iu*, 1600



FATHER ADAM SCHALL AS A MANDARIN
OF THE FIRST CLASS

and that Pinto's last years were spent dependent on the royal bounty, it is not to be wondered at that much of his criticism had to be made obliquely. In its own genre, the *Peregrination* was as significant a criticism of Portugal's conduct in the East, as Bishop Las Casas's denunciation of Spain's conquests in the Americas—a reply in prose to Camoens' great poem. That it was written by a man who was sufficiently disturbed by what he had seen to give up a lucrative career in order to join the Company of Jesus, is a testimony to his sincerity and the overall integrity of his work. It was certainly not his intention merely to satisfy the appetite of his readers with a mendacious farrago of vainglorious claims and fantasies. Other commentators have seen in the *Peregrination* a great picaresque novel, comparable to the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes. Maurice Collis, who will have none of this, invests it with a much higher significance: 'The *Peregrination*, I must repeat, is not a romance; to call it a book of Christian morals, though certainly much disguised, would be nearer the mark, a disquisition by a man of vast experience and tender conscience, on life and death, suffering and salvation.'

Seventeenth-century readers, had they but known it, possessed in the *Peregrination* a superb interpretation of the East with which to supplement the more conventional text of Mendoza's *Historia*. And upon these a new source followed, the reports and letters relating the actions, triumphs and sufferings of Francis Xavier, the 'Apostle of the East', and the members of the Society of Jesus. By a strange turn of events, Mendes Pinto was to be linked with this campaign for the Faith, as a friend of Xavier's, and even, for two years, as a novice in the Society. Why Pinto came to take this step is not difficult to understand, for much of the criticism in his book echoes the denunciations of the great evangelist.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Jesuits in Japan and China

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE European infiltrators and the peoples of southern Asia were markedly changed by two events: the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa, and the arrival of Francis Xavier, a founder member of the Society of Jesus, in 1542. However little regard the Portuguese had had earlier for the lives of those Hindus they defeated in battle or otherwise punished, in the main they had not actively interfered with the practice of their religion or destroyed their temples; while those who were ready to adopt the Christian faith were accepted without too much concern for their comprehension of the sacraments. This attitude, however, hardened with the coming of the Inquisition, which operated not only against the 'new Christians', in reality converted Jews, and those thought to have reached a compromise with Islam, but also against those converted Indians suspected of backsliding. Animosity against the Hindu religion grew and temples on the island of Goa and in other Portuguese settlements were destroyed.

Francis Xavier, a representative both of the King of Portugal, upon whose support the Church in the East was dependent, and, as Papal Nuncio, of the Pope, was soon strongly critical of the neglect of the poverty-stricken native converts by the Church, although he was a supporter of the Inquisition. He was even more vehement about the general conduct of the Portuguese in the East. As he wrote in 1545: 'Evil doing is so much a matter of course that I see no remedy whatever for it. All go the same road of "I plunder, thou plunderest", and it terrifies me to witness how many moods and tenses and participles of that miserable word, *rapio*, those who come to India discover.' These powerful sentiments drove him to spend three years among the Parvanas, the pearl fishers of the south coast of India, first maltreated by Arab slavers, and then, on con-

version, plundered by the Portuguese. From his experiences in this work of Christian charity, Xavier learned to appreciate the value of a knowledge of languages, a study later pursued by the Jesuits with zeal and intelligence. Realizing that little could be done for the lowest classes within the influence of the Portuguese, he turned his attention to the newly revealed lands to the east. For two years he laboured under extreme difficulties in the Moluccas where he came to loathe the mountains and dense forests of the tropical islands, but struggled on, though without any high regard for the inhabitants, 'a very barbarous lot and full of treachery', accustomed to making a pastime of murder and given on occasion to cannibalism. Once again his eyes were lifted to far-off countries, inhabited by peoples reputed to be highly civilized; the kingdoms of Japan and China seemed to offer greater opportunities to a Christian mission. After his departure to this new field, Jesuit Fathers struggled on in the islands with great devotion and courage, but with small help from the Portuguese in their fight against Moslem chiefs, Malay pirates and hostile tribesmen.

The current situation in Japan offered certain advantages to the westerners. The country was in the throes of civil disorder owing to the decay of the central government. The Emperor was a disregarded figurehead living in poverty; while the Shogun, the *de facto* ruler, was also hampered by internecine quarrels, and quite incapable of controlling either the upstart local barons fighting for their own lands, or the larger monasteries which were quarrelling among themselves and raiding the cities. In this free-for-all, the barons seized the opportunity of increasing their prestige by playing for foreign support through the grant of trading privileges and of general facilities to missionaries. The military predilections of the upper classes—they had contributed to the rapid spread of firearms noted by Pinto—and the general poverty of the people, two interconnected factors, struck all observers. The Japanese were, however, reported to be courteous to visitors, although, convinced of their own superiority, they held them in contempt.

The merchants of Malacca were quick to take advantage of the opportunities thus offered. Within a few years they had established a flourishing trading station at Hirado, and it was there that Mendes Pinto, as a prosperous merchant, arrived on his second visit, and came into contact with intrepid Francis Xavier.

In 1548, having secured the approval of the Governor-General at Goa, Xavier sailed from Malacca, accompanied by Father Cosmo de Torres and Brother Juan Fernandes, and a Japanese convert, Paul of the Holy Faith, whom Pinto had brought back from Japan and introduced to Xavier. The voyage from Malacca was relatively rapid and uneventful, though Xavier was angered by the reverence in which a particular idol was held, and at the practice of deciding important issues by casting lots. This procedure nearly resulted in the junk putting into Canton and so missing the sailing season for Japan. But using the threat of the Viceroy's displeasure Xavier forced the captain to sail on; and the latter was happily deterred, by reports of pirates in the vicinity, from calling at Chincheo.

On August 15, 1549, Xavier landed at Kagoshima and was warmly welcomed by Paul's family. After some days, he had a successful interview with the Prince of Satsuma and received licence to preach. Then began for him over two years of strenuous travel, much hardship which impaired his health, and long, futile controversies with the 'bonzes', who throughout displayed the bitterest animosity towards the evangelist. His first impressions confirmed rather too easily the reports which had led him to Japan. As he wrote to his superior: 'The nation with which we have to do here surpasses in goodness any of the nations lately discovered. I really think that among barbarous nations, there can be none that has more natural goodness than the Japanese. They are of a kindly disposition not at all given to cheating, wonderfully desirous of honour and rank. Honour with them is placed above everything else. There are a great many poor among them, but poverty is not a disgrace to anyone.' He was impressed by what he considered the orderliness of life and the frugal habits of the ordinary people. His spirit was also raised by thankfulness at 'the benefit God has conferred on us by bringing us here, where life is without indulgences and unadulterated by counter attractions'.

At first indeed his efforts were successful, the people in the streets appeared to welcome his message, there were numerous converts, and a beginning was made by translating the Ten Commandments into Japanese. It was soon apparent, however, that well disposed as the people might be and ready to welcome the Gospel in preference to the controversies and jealousies of the Buddhist sects, ultimate success depended upon overcoming the opposition of the monks.

He was in fact up against not merely a rival theology, however wrong-headed it appeared to him, but a whole social order, with all the means to secure conformity at its disposal. To Xavier the 'bonzes' came to appear obstinate, ignorant, and stained by unmentionable lust. In the course of long confrontations with them, of which some record has survived, he had to admit that whatever else they might be, they were pertinacious and acute, if long-winded, controversialists.

It is unlikely that either side really comprehended the position of its opponents; apart from all else, there were linguistic difficulties, for although Xavier had acquired some Japanese it cannot have been entirely adequate for the task confronting him. He certainly did not underrate his opponents for his letters home on the subject of reinforcing his mission's strength continually emphasize the necessity of sending not only dedicated men prepared to face extreme physical hardships, but men with the knowledge and training to confute their adversaries. The monks, with their belief in reincarnation and the efficacy of their power to free their followers from punishment in the life hereafter, were unable to grasp the Christian doctrine of salvation and immortality of the soul. But, fundamentally, there was never any prospect of a conclusion to this argument, for the monks were fighting for their place in society rather than probing matters of deep theological import. Xavier's spirit and courage never faltered, but after a year's hard work he appreciated that he was making no headway against the monks, and that the king, in the turmoil of civil strife, would not readily abandon them in favour of the Christians. He saw that his only hope lay in winning over to his side the one power in the country who might overrule the local potentates. In the mistaken belief that the Emperor was this person, he set out on a long and hazardous journey which took him to Hirado, Meaco, Osaka and Amangashi.

Large areas of the countryside had suffered the ravages of civil war, and travel was thus difficult and dangerous—at one time he was obliged to engage himself as servant to a nobleman in order to proceed; but despite the strain on his health, and a lack of funds, a prime need when endeavouring to win favours from officials, his ardent faith sustained him. But the outcome was much the same as earlier. Though the people listened readily and often became converts, the priests prevailed in the end. Xavier did not see the

Emperor in Osaka and was disappointed to find that he was totally without influence. In Meaco he met with extreme hostility and, accepting that his visit was a failure, he returned by sea to Hirado.

But he was determined to make one more effort to obtain official backing. Gathering up the presents originally intended for the Emperor, he set off with some ceremony, indeed almost in the guise of an envoy from Portugal, to the King of Amangashi. He was welcomed by that potentate, who was anxious at that time to placate the Portuguese and gave him leave to preach; and Xavier at once realized that his best prospect was to encourage and foster this political bond. The letters he wrote to Goa are an example of his practicality and shrewdness on this theme. Enclosing a list of the commodities most acceptable to the Japanese, he urged the establishment of a factory at Osaka, and the dispatch annually of a royal ship from Malacca: the quantities of pepper sent must be carefully calculated so that the value was not debased in Japan. Remembering his own experiences, he was insistent that the ships should sail direct, avoiding the China coast and the islands off Canton. If they left Goa in April two months would carry them to Malacca, and another two to Osaka; whereas if they put into Canton the whole voyage might occupy seventeen months. This policy was to bear fruit after his death, when Mendes Pinto returned to Japan not only as an envoy on behalf of Portugal but also as a member of Xavier's Order.

For his own part Xavier had decided that he could no longer neglect the affairs of the Society in India. A Christian church had been established and progress in evangelization had been made. A certain understanding had been achieved *vis-à-vis* the authorities, and the presence of the trading community ensured that the mission would not be completely isolated. There were his two devoted companions, Torres and Fernandes, well equipped to carry on the work; converts were going to India for instruction, and he was seeking more helpers from Europe.

His thoughts were turning to the great empire of China, so close physically, yet so far removed spiritually, about which he entertained the contemporary view. 'China, an immense empire, enjoying profound peace, regulated by a number of very wise laws, is governed by a single sovereign whose will is absolute. It is a most opulent empire, abounding with everything necessary for human life. A

narrow strip of sea separates it from Japan. Its people are remarkable for intelligence, and employ themselves in study, chiefly of laws and human jurisprudence, and also of political science. The ambition of the greater part of the people is to gain a deep knowledge on this subject. The faces of the natives are pale and beardless, and their eyes are small. They have generally kind open dispositions and are lovers of peace, which flourishes and is firmly established among them, without any fears of war. Unless some new obstacles arise and alter my plans, I hope to sail for China . . . whither I am attracted by the hope of being able to do good work in furthering greatly the service of God for the benefit of both the Chinese and Japanese nations.'

Elsewhere he wrote in similar vein: 'Opposite to Japan lies China, an immense empire, enjoying profound peace, and which, as the Portuguese merchants tell us, is superior to all Christian states in the practice of justice and equity. The Chinese whom I have seen in Japan and elsewhere . . . are acute and eager to learn. In intellect they are superior even to the Japanese. Their country abounds in plenty of all things, and very many cities of great extent cover its surface. The cities are very populous; the houses ornamented with stone roofings, and very elegant. All reports say that the empire is very rich in every sort of product, but especially in silk . . . I hope to go there during this year, 1552, and penetrate even to the Emperor himself. China is that sort of kingdom, that if the seed of the Gospel is once sown, it may be propagated far and wide.'

Even without the attribution in the text, it would not be difficult to recognize the source of these views (and to speculate on what part Mendes Pinto played in their dissemination). Though not altogether unfounded, they were at least misleading. What no doubt appealed to Xavier was the idea of a supreme and wise sovereign who could be persuaded to allow the Faith to be communicated to an educated and enlightened people. There was also the prospect that when China had been won, the less perfect and recalcitrant Japanese would follow the example of their worthier cousins. But what a change from the time, not so long before, when Tomas Pires was commenting on the general weakness of the Chinese and their inferiority to the westerners!

The opportunity to leave Japan came when Xavier learned of the arrival at Hirado of a Portuguese ship captained by Duarte da

Gama. Forewarned of Xavier's approach, da Gama and his men set out to meet him. They were astonished and saddened, in Pinto's words, to meet him 'on foot, carrying on his shoulder a bundle in which were all the things necessary for saying Mass', the two Christians in his company relieving him from time to time of the burden. Xavier refused the horse offered to him, thus obliging Pinto and his friends to dismount and accompany him on foot. Xavier got a great welcome in Hirado, several broadsides being fired from the ship in his honour. All this accorded to a poor and exhausted priest so surprised the king that he later received him with much ceremony and granted leave to preach to his people. But, again, the bonzes objected, and before Xavier sailed there was only time for further inconclusive discussions. With him went two Japanese Christians and an envoy to the Viceroy at Goa.

In India, his plans for China were warmly approved; valuable gifts were prepared for the Emperor and it was decided to send an envoy with Xavier to Canton to negotiate for the release of Portuguese held there in prison. The Captain of Malacca was ordered to support Diogo Pereira, the envoy, to the fullest extent of his power. Everything appeared to promise success, and Xavier in his enthusiasm contemplated returning across Asia to Jerusalem.

Unfortunately for the enterprise, the Captain of Malacca, striving to secure his position and carrying on a personal feud with Pereira, refused to allow him to proceed and confiscated the gifts on the grounds that the affairs of China were his prerogative. In the bitter quarrel which ensued, Xavier, exercising his authority as Apostolic Nuncio, set in train the excommunication of the Captain, and refused to abandon the mission on which his heart was set. Finally, with the loyal support of Pereira, he obtained passage on a merchant vessel, and eventually reached the island of Shang ch'uan, where the Portuguese had a temporary trading station. His plan to land at Canton at all costs alarmed the Portuguese merchants; they feared that the negotiations to free the prisoners would abort if Xavier persisted in his intention, and that if this happened, it would bring down upon them a Chinese attack before they could leave for Malacca. Still undefeated, Xavier promised to wait until they had sailed, and arranged with a Chinese merchant to land him and his interpreter surreptitiously near Canton. Before they could even set

out, Xavier, penniless, ill-housed and short of food, was stricken with fever. He died at Shang-ch'uan early in December 1552.

For some years after Francis Xavier's death the China mission made slow progress. Fathers stationed at Macao, aided by the Portuguese merchants, visited Canton during the biennial fairs, but all requests for a permanent establishment were refused. Their efforts to make contact with the common people met with equally little success. Convinced that the Empire was the centre and greater part of the world, save for a fringe of small and negligible countries, the Chinese despised foreigners in general, and refused to believe they had anything of value to impart. As for their conduct and habits, they were only what could be expected of strangers from distant and barbarous lands. Father Pantoia recorded that 'to paint an evil favoured man, they paint him in short apparell, with a great beard, Eyes, and Nose'. European dress and behaviour was also the subject of ridicule: 'Certaine Stage-players which coming from Amaco, set forth in pictures those things which the Chinois hated in the Portugals, as their short Garments (seeming to them ridiculous) praying on beads by men in temples, with Swords girded to them, kneeling on one knee; their quarrels one with another and combats, Women going with men in company, and the like.'

Having endured persistent trouble at 'the base people's hand', the Jesuits sought other channels of approach. Since neither the Papacy nor the King of Spain could be persuaded to dispatch a full-scale embassy to Peking, they directed their activities to gaining the confidence of the Mandarin officials and scholars during journeys into the interior, although they were well aware that strangers travelling without licence were not allowed to leave the country. The arrival at Goa in 1574 of Alexandre Valignano, charged with reorganizing the eastern mission, gave an impetus to this positive programme of action. He inaugurated a new approach to the peoples of the East which rejected the concept of converts as merely Europeanized natives. Through a careful study of their languages and cultures he looked forward to converting them to Christianity. With this end in view, he dispatched Michele Ruggieri in 1578 to Macao to become proficient in the Chinese language and to win over the scholars. Working with great assiduity and patience, Ruggieri at last obtained the long-desired permission to establish a church at Chaoching, near Canton. There he was soon joined by

Matteo Ricci, and from that point the history of the China mission is largely the record of Ricci's achievements. A man of great intellectual attainments, he threw himself wholeheartedly into executing Valignano's policy.

Ricci's first step was to demonstrate that he and his colleagues, far from being ignorant barbarians, possessed a knowledge of the world much superior to the rarefied wisdom of the Mandarins. Chinese interest was aroused because of their long-standing delight in exotic curiosities from the outside world, and many articles of western manufacture were imported. Clocks were in special demand; one obtained from Europe was 'moved by wheels without weights, and struck also the quarters to the great admiration of the Chinois'. Other gifts were hour-glasses, knives, mirrors, 'triangle glasses' with silver chains and elaborate cases, surgical instruments, and 'other prettie things'. Paintings in oil were also popular; this art was said to be previously unknown until introduced by Gaspar Coelius, 'who first taught the Japonians and Chinois the European painting to the great good of both Churches'. From these small beginnings, Ricci succeeded in attracting the interest of the Mandarins to some appreciation of European art and science. On their side, too, the Jesuits came to realize the depth of Chinese learning. At first they had been ready to dismiss it rather summarily, and to state dogmatically that 'the Chinois are greatly given to learning and studie; for all their honour and riches dependeth thereupon; they know not, nor studie, any science, neither Mathematicks nor Philosophie, nor any such thing, but only Rhetoricke'. This opinion, based on the literary character of the civil service examinations, was to be modified after their experiences at the Imperial court. One branch of knowledge in which the Chinese were particularly deficient, however, was the geography of the world beyond the bounds of their empire; to persuade them of this, European maps and atlases were included among ceremonial gifts.

After years of careful preparation, Ricci, with the unofficial support of Mandarin friends, travelled from Canton to Nanking and thence—after difficulties over obtaining official passes—to Peking. Having spent a month there in secrecy, he realized that he could achieve nothing without official recognition and returned to Nanking. There he and his companions laboured earnestly at their missionary task, and extended their circle of friends. Eventually,

he obtained authority from the provincial governor to proceed to Peking. Among Ricci's party was Diego de Pantoia, who wrote a lively account of his experiences, which portrayed the growing appreciation of the travellers for the material achievements of Chinese civilization.

Pantoia rhapsodized over Nanking and the elegance of the landscape in which it was set: 'There is also a lake close to the Citie, which the eye can scarcely measure, which sliding into a Valley encompassing, embossed with divers Hillocks, hath given occasion to Art to shew her utmost in the adorning the same, beautifying all those spacious bankes with Houses, Gardens, Groves; a very Labyrinth to the bewitched eyes, not knowing whereat most in this Maze to bee most amazed, wherein most to delight. And in delights doe they spend their dayes, filling the Lake with Vessels, furnished with feasts, Spectacles and Playes on the water. There is a pleasant Hill in the middle of the Citie, whereon is a faire Tower or Steeple, where they measure their houres by a strange device [a large water clock] . . . From this Hill is a prospect over all the Citie. All the streets being set with trees, make shew of pleasant Gardens. It is so full of Rivers, Lakes, Rils, Ponds, both in the Citie and suburbs, as if a man would frame a Platonicall Idaea of elegancie to his mind.'

He observed with special interest the organization of the inland waterway system, on which they travelled to Peking, and the manner in which the Grand Canal had been constructed to form a continuous waterway with the lower courses of the Yangtze-kiang ('the greatest River that ever I saw in my life; which in some parts is above three leagues broad and very deep') and the Hwang Ho ('another River as great, which seemed to be rather of mudde than water, because the water was alwaies mingled with earth, which whence it should come for so many yeeres I wot not'). He also noted the regulation of the water level by 'floud-gates like Sluices'; the two types of vessel which plied upon it, 'one sort of vessel for burden, and another sort for houses'; and the immense quantities of material transported, especially rice for the cities, bricks and timber for the repair of Peking, and 'particular things and dainties for the Imperial court'.

On Ricci's and his companions' arrival in Peking, their fate was for some time in the balance owing to intrigues among various

officials, but eventually their gifts reached the Emperor. These had been chosen with care to appeal to that autocrat. Clocks were as usual prominent: 'Two clockes with wheeles, one great one of Iron, with a very great case made faire with a thousand ingraves workes, full of gilded Dragons, which are the arms and Ensignes of this King, as the Eagle is the Emperours [the Holy Roman Emperor] and another little clocke, above an handful high, all of golden metall, of the beste worke which is made in our countrie.' There were also three paintings, the largest that of Our Lady of the Poplar of San Lucar, and a very fair 'Monocord', an instrument which greatly delighted the musical Chinese. The clocks proved to be the salvation of the mission, for the Jesuits were eventually called upon to instruct court mathematicians in their maintenance, which in turn led to their being charged with the reformation of the Chinese calendar. For the last nine years of his life—he died in Peking in 1610—Ricci enjoyed a unique position at court; although he never saw the Emperor, it was generally understood that he was high in the imperial favour—as a scientist rather than an exponent of the Christian faith.

Despite the influence of Ricci and missionary endeavour in Canton, Nanking and other ports, the general conversion of China was as far off as ever. The Jesuits were in fact faced by several dilemmas. It was true that Ricci at Peking was studying the Confucian philosophy of the Literati but this was on ethical, rather than theological, grounds. Over the years men like Ricci had learned much about the complex set of beliefs, moral, religious and magical, which governed the daily life of millions, and to differentiate between the various sects, as they styled them. For the establishment—the Literati—they had great respect. Their conduct was regulated by the Confucian philosophy, which is most proper to China. 'Of all the noblest sciences,' Pantoia wrote, 'they are best skilled in morall Philosophie (naturall, they have rather obscured) and being ignorant of logicke, they deliver those Ethicke precepts in confused sentences and discourses without order, by meere naturall wit. Their greatest Philosopher is called Confutius, whom I finde to have beene borne 551 years before the coming of Christ and to have lived above 70 yeeres, by example as well as precept exciting to virtue, accounted a very holy man. And if wee marke his sayings and doings, wee must confesse few of our Ethnike Philosophers

before him, and many behinde. But with the Chinois, his word is authoritie, and no speech of his is called in question; the Learned, yea the Kings also, ever since worshipping him, not as a God, but as a Man.'

When, however, the question of conversion was considered, difficulties arose. 'This sect hath no Idols, worships one God, believing all things to be conserved by his providence . . . The best of them teach nothing of the Creation; rewards and punishments they confine in this life to a man's selfe or his posteritie. The scope of this Literate sect is the peace and good of the Common-wealth, and of Families, and of each persons; their precepts agreeing with Nature and Christianitie . . . They condemn Single life, permit Polygamie, and in their Bookes largely explaine that precept of Charitie, to doe to another as a man would be done to.' In their conduct of life there were 'five virtues; urbanity or courtesy is one; the rest are piety, a thankful remembrance of benefits, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wisdom of archieving [*sic*] of matters. From these principals sprang the authority of the parent, the family as the unit in social life, and ancestor worship, "observing their dead Ancestrie as if they were living", and commemorating them by an annual ceremony.'

The other principal sect, or rather the vast majority of the population, followed varieties of Buddhism while at the same time obeying the Confucian rule. They believed in reincarnation and the avoidance of the taking of life, and their idols were set in lavishly decorated temples and attended by extravagant rites. For the multitude of monks the Jesuits, like the Literati, had little esteem; not only did they consider them ignorant and illiberal, but assailed their morals: 'These priests are accounted, and justly, the most vile and vicious in the whole Kingdome, sprung of the basest plebians.' Numbers of these people in fact became Christians, but in relation to the magnitude of the population such successes were of little significance.

The Jesuits were prepared to make great concessions to advance their cause. Ricci himself accepted the unique position of Confucius in Chinese life. 'His self-mastery and abstemious ways,' he wrote, 'have led his countrymen to assert that he surpassed in holiness all those who in times past, in the various parts of the world, were considered to have excelled in virtue.' He met boldly the problem

of those who had died over the centuries before the arrival of his missionaries: 'One can confidently hope that, in the mercy of God, many of the ancient Chinese found salvation in the natural law, assisted as they must have been by that special help, which, as the theologians teach, is denied to no one who does what he can towards salvation, according to the light of his conscience.'

In the event, the Jesuits were not permitted to embark on a general mission throughout the country. Confined at first to Peking, they had some success, converting a royal prince and a number of influential personages. But they were mainly tolerated for their scientific knowledge, and it was as scientists that they travelled widely during their cartographic surveys. At Rome, however, their attempts to assimilate Christian and Gentile rites met with increasing criticism and charges of heresy, largely stimulated by the friars who had followed them to China, until finally such practices were condemned by the Pope.

However frustrated they felt in the sphere of religion, the Jesuits turned again and again to praise the high standards and efficiency of the system of government; 'the administration of the Kingdome of China doeth for the most part, agree with the instinct of nature, authority being committed, not unto rude and unskilful men, but unto such as have become conversant in the use and exercise of learning, yea, and in promoting learned men into magistracies, great consideration is had of their wisdom, justice, and of other virtues esteemed by the Chineans'. The fact that any man might rise, 'without any respect of degree or parentage', to the highest rank was continually praised, but indeed all facets met with approval, especially the family, with the emphasis on obedience to authority as the basic unit. A gathering of families formed the commune, and these in turn were grouped in sub-prefectures, controlled by the lowest grade of Mandarins. At the summit stood the Emperor, himself subject to direction by a Board of Rites, through whom continuity and orthodoxy were maintained.

In some directions the Jesuits' enthusiasm carried them too far. Ricci asserted for instance: 'Neither the king nor his people ever think of waging a war of aggression. They are quite content with what they have and are not ambitious of conquest . . . I must admit I never have seen any mention of such conquest, nor have I ever heard of them extending the boundaries of their Empire.' Nor does

he mention the tyranny exercised by the court eunuchs, or the cruel beatings, from which even Confucian scholars were not exempt. Enemies of the Society maintained that this praise was to curry favour with the authorities and to encourage recruits.

Although the Jesuits failed in their primary object, the conversion of China, they continued to serve the Imperial court at Peking as scientific advisers. A product of this co-operation was the extensive surveys of the Empire which they were able to execute, and which took them to many parts of eastern and central Asia previously unvisited by Europeans. These surveys eventually formed the basis of the important work, the *Nouvelle atlas de la Chine*, published at Paris in 1737, the basis of European cartography of China for more than a century. One unforeseen result of their activities was the influence of their writings on the development of political thought in eighteenth-century France, for the *philosophes* used their enthusiastic accounts of the excellence of Chinese government and social institutions as a yardstick to judge their own society, and to plan its reformation.

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Meanwhile in Japan the fortunes of the Christian missionaries were fluctuating. After Xavier's departure progress was at first slow, as Mendes Pinto found on his fourth visit. The story of this is perhaps the most remarkable in his extraordinary career. It so happened that when Francis Xavier's body was brought back to Goa, Pinto was present at its memorable reception. Greatly moved by the experience, he took a surprising decision; he renounced his wealth, freed his slaves, and was admitted to the Society of Jesus by the Provincial, Father Belchior Nunez, proposing to devote his life to the evangelization of Japan. At the same time he was pressing the Viceroy to initiate closer relations with the King of Bungo. The Governor-General promptly appointed him as envoy and he set out with Father Nunez with costly presents procured at his own expense. The voyage to Bungo, replete with characteristic misadventures and delays, lasted over two years. The party was hospitably received by the ruler, but in a spirit bordering on mockery. In interviews, the king made it plain that he had no intention of being converted, and was more interested in trade. Pinto's enthusiasm for mission work then markedly cooled (he subsequently left the Society). Having ob-

tained a letter from the king reciprocating the Governor-General's desire for friendship, he sailed from Japan for the last time, accompanied by Nunez, who returned to his duties as Provincial.

The courage and persistence of the Jesuit missionaries was gradually rewarded. The island of Kyushu and the neighbouring mainland, where they were most active, was the centre of Japanese resistance to the centralizing policy of the Shogun, Oda Nobunga; there the turbulent barons were prepared to oblige their people to accept conversion, so that they might improve their chances of obtaining arms from the foreign merchants. Nobunga, gradually imposing his authority, was also tolerant to the Fathers, partly out of dislike for the Buddhists, partly because he, too, was desirous of expanding foreign trade. Thus unmolested, the missionaries could by 1582 claim 150,000 converts. Though many of these may have lacked strong conviction, those who had suffered during the years of civil strife found solace in a religion of compassion and regard for the individual.

Hideyoshi, Nobunga's successor, continued in this attitude of total indifference, until he became disturbed by the trend of affairs. There was the fear that the Christians among his officers might be induced to combine against him, while the increasing imports of weapons and constant bickering between the Portuguese and Spaniards also seemed likely to endanger domestic peace. The Jesuits, partly to support their work, had taken to trading overseas, and were closely associated with the Portuguese merchants of Macao. While not averse to commercial expansion, Hideyoshi had reason to fear that the foreigners were planning to extend their interests by force of arms.

At first Hideyoshi merely turned to favour the Dutch, who at least displayed no interest in religion. Then, in 1597, a violent persecution began with the execution of three Jesuits and six Spanish Franciscans, and continued to be directed mainly against Japanese converts, then estimated to number 300,000. In 1624 the Spanish were deported, followed by the Portuguese; the Shogun's subjects were forbidden to trade abroad, and the Dutch and Chinese merchants were confined to Nagasaki. Fourteen years later the persecution came to its pitiless conclusion, when the surviving Christians, rising in rebellion, were all but exterminated. Japan then lapsed into an isolation as complete as that of China. After

half a century the most promising chapter in Christian endeavour and Euro-Asian relations to date had ended in disaster. Apart from the question of whether or not there was ever a real likelihood of a Christian state emerging in Japan, it seems improbable that, in the face of so much rivalry between the Europeans, it could have maintained its integrity for long. Three centuries were to elapse before Japan took its place in the world of international politics.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Challenge to Portuguese Dominion

ALTHOUGH A FEW adventurers from other nations had sailed to the East in the first three quarters of the sixteenth century, it was not until the closing years that the Portuguese and Spanish claims to absolute sovereignty were seriously challenged. The long and hazardous voyage, initial inferiority in navigational skill, and ignorance of conditions in eastern lands were obvious deterrents, but the principal one was the political situation in Europe. The Iberian monopoly, based on the Treaty of Tordesillas, was sustained by command of the sea, and until this had been broken, no European country was prepared to risk limited naval resources in a determined attack upon the settlements in India and Indonesia. The first reconnaissances were made from England, where a group of courtiers, merchants and cosmographers, whose leading propagandist was Richard Hakluyt the younger, followed with close attention the progress of exploration, and formulated a policy of expansion and colonization overseas. But until the defeat of the Spanish Armada their efforts were largely directed to promoting privateering raids on Spanish commerce in the Atlantic and the West Indies, or to seeking a route to the East which would avoid the waters controlled by Portugal.

The Dutch, also, in their struggle for independence from Spain, were developing as an efficient naval power. Under Imperial rule their merchants and seamen had participated in an extensive and flourishing trade, but when Antwerp, an important centre for eastern commerce, and the ports of Spain were closed to them (and those of Portugal after the union of the two kingdoms), they of necessity turned to the search for other outlets; in this they were aided by the new level of scientific competence which their seamen, building on the skills of the Iberian pioneers, steadily achieved. Expansion became a great national effort, powerfully organized and

strongly backed by the home government. Thus, initially, the Dutch effort in the East was more successful than that of the English.

The first English plan, the opening up of an alternative to the Cape route, led to a series of voyages in search of a north-west passage to the north of the American continent and of a north-east route eastwards along the Arctic coasts of Asia. The latter series, after an initial success in entering the White Sea, failed to afford a practicable way, but by opening up communications with Muscovy it encouraged hopes, not only of expanding trade with Persia, but of reaching 'Cathay' overland across central Asia. For some years, while there was agreement with Muscovy, members of the Muscovy Company, travelling down the Volga and across the Caspian Sea, conducted some trade with Persia.

The most active and successful of these men was Anthony Jenkinson, who also sought to take the transcontinental road. Joining a caravan on the eastern shores of the Caspian, he had some dangerous moments. Blackmailed by the escort, robbed of much personal property by bandits, and suffering from lack of water, he and his caravan barely succeeded in gaining Bokhara. Jenkinson was greatly disappointed by the city; though it was frequented by merchants from India, Persia and Russia, it was of little consequence commercially, though there had been trade with China in times past, 'when there was passage'. No precious metals, gold or pepper were to be obtained, notwithstanding that he met traders from Bengal and other countries on the Ocean Sea, 'in the subjection of the Portingals'.

One of his companions, Richard Johnson, noted some further particulars, including an itinerary. It was thirty days by caravan from Bokhara to Kashgar and another thirty thence to 'Cathaya'; the Cathayan border was reached at Sowchik (Su-chou, near the western terminus of the Great Wall) and the road ran on to Camchik (Kan-chou) and then, surprisingly, after two months to 'Cathaya' ten days beyond which was Cambalu (Peking), 'the chief city in that whole land'. The way he was describing was clearly the northern branch of the old silk route, which ran on from Kan-chou to Lan-chou, on the Hwang Ho, 700 miles distant, as the crow flies, from Cambalu, much of it 'inhabited, temperate, and well replenished with innumerable fruits'. He also learnt that 'ships may sail from Cathaya unto India. But of other waies, or how the seas lie by any

coast he knoweth not'. Finally, 'beyond this land of Cathay which they praise to be civil and unspeakably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-Calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay the most part thereof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also as the Tartares report, is christian, or after the manner of christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue'.

The route was at that time interrupted by Cossack raids on Kashgar and Tashkent. Although the King of Bokhara received him cordially, and punished the bandits, Jenkinson considered himself ill-treated, for 'the King went to the warres, and sawe mee not paide before his departure; and although in deede hee gave order for the same, yet was I very ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as paiment for the rest contrary to my expectation, but of a bigger better paiment I could not have, and glad I was so to be paide and dispatched'. He had contemplated journeying back through Persia, but having been deprived of the papers given him by the Tsar of Moscovy, he thought it safer to return by the way he had come. Apart from the long and dangerous route, he saw small prospect of trade with Bokhara, mainly because its merchants had no use for English cloth. The governors of the Company, however, were evidently attracted by the idea of this overland route eastwards, but further to the north, for in later instructions to Jenkinson it was suggested that Johnson might be employed upon it: 'And because the Russes say that in travelling Eastwards from Colmogro* thirtie or fortie dayes journey, there is the maine sea to be found, we thinke that Richard Johnson might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Mosco time enough to go with you into Persia; for if it be true that he may travell to the sea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the East from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for us to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.'

There is an echo of this proposal in the advice which Dr. John Dee gave to the navigators Pett and Jackman when they were preparing for the last of the north-east voyages in 1580. Having also the reports of the Jesuits in mind, he remarked that after completing the passage 'you may also have opportunity to sail over to

* Colmogro is modern Kholmogory, situated some fifty miles south-east of Arkhangelsk.

Japan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Jesuits, of many countryes of Christendome, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose hands you may have great instruction and advise for your affayres in hand'.

Unfortunately, despite the efforts of the Muscovy Company, the attempt to establish trade with Persia by the Volga route proved impractical, and the London merchants turned to the eastern Mediterranean. It was hoped that by agreement with the Turks it might be possible to open up a route from Aleppo across Syria to the Persian Gulf and so to tap the spice trade; also that an understanding might be reached with the Mogul Emperor Akbar in northern India for the establishment of a base for English merchants. Although John Newbery had returned from a venturesome journey overland to Hormuz, full of enthusiasm for this project, the prospects were not encouraging. The quantity of spices reaching that city were scarcely sufficient to meet the demand in the Levant, and, more serious, English cloth was not greatly wanted there. But the major obstacle was the certainty of strong opposition from the Portuguese to any such attempt to break their monopoly or to win over the Mogul, with whose subjects they were trading profitably.

It was decided, however, that the venture was sufficiently promising; Newbery was dispatched with a party of merchants, only one of whom, Ralph Fitch, was to return alive. Newbery planned to reach Bushire on the Persian coast and then to join a caravan for India, but this idea fell through for want of an interpreter and the party was obliged to proceed to Hormuz. There, as had been feared, they aroused the suspicions of the Portuguese, were arrested, and sent to Goa. They eventually escaped and set out on a long series of wanderings, but little was accomplished at the Imperial court. Newbery died on the return overland, while Fitch spent seven years travelling over the main trade routes of northern India and around the Bay of Bengal. He was the first Englishman to reach Malacca, where he picked up some information on the Macao trade with China and Japan.

Fitch's report was somewhat brief, but it at least emphasized the points, made later by Linschoten, that the only practicable way of reaching the East Indies was by the sea route round the Cape of Good Hope; and that to open this up would entail challenging and overcoming Portugal's command of the seas. By now, that had

become the general opinion, for the balance of power in European waters had changed decisively with the destruction of the Armada in 1588; and, in fact, just before Fitch's return, James Lancaster had been dispatched with a small fleet to the East Indies.



At the same time as these ries of Arctic voyages was ending, Francis Drake demonstrated by his circumnavigation of 1577-80 that Portugal could not entirely exclude rivals from the Cape route. Drake approached the Moluccas from the east and followed a course through them approximating to that of Magellan's *Victoria*. At Ternate he was well received by the king, who was at odds with the ruler of Tidore and his Portuguese allies and ready to conclude a treaty of friendship with a potential supporter; this episode, of little significance at the time, was later cited as a justification of English activities in the islands. Drake was also able to replenish his stores with sago, rice, fowls and other foodstuffs, and to load several tons of cloves.

After running aground off Celebes, when he was obliged to jettison three tons of cloves and eight pieces of ordnance, Drake called at an island, known to him as Barateve,* which entranced them all: 'To confess a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened upon no place (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more confortes, and better means of refreshing.' The next island visited was Java, 'where arriving, wee founde great courtesie, and honourable entertainment'. Drake was welcomed by four rajahs, and he was struck by the sociable atmosphere, the martial bearing, and the fine craftsmanship of the metal workers—from whom he borrowed a supply of weapons. What seems to have intrigued him most was the Javanese method of steaming rice in colanders, which produced a firm and nourishing bread, no doubt welcome as a useful ration.

Warned that 'not farre off there were such great ships as ours', Drake put to sea at once, setting course for the Cape of Good Hope, and not touching land until they reached Sierra Leone. As regards the Cape he noted particularly that 'notwithstanding we ranne hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portingals to be most false, who affirme that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world,

* Probably Batjan.

never without intollerable stormes and present danger to travailers, which come neere the same. This Cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest Cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18 of June'.

Drake had thus shown that the sea routes were navigable by nations other than the Portuguese; that the Moluccas were not entirely under Portuguese control and offered opportunities for trade; and that Java held out a similar prospect.

Having made a princely fortune from the Spanish vessels he had seized in the Pacific, Drake was quite prepared to undertake a voyage to the Moluccas to exploit his friendship with the King of Ternate, and there were men at court and among the London merchants who were prepared to back him. In fact, the Earl of Leicester had such an expedition in hand when Drake returned. His original plan was interwoven with support of Don Antonio, claimant to the throne of Portugal, and envisaged rallying the Malabar settlements to his cause. But, owing to the defeat of the Portuguese pretender, this ambitious project was dropped. Queen Elizabeth forbade Drake to leave the country, and the enterprise took on a more commercial complexion. Drake's advice to the promoters was to trade with Sumatra and Java on the way to the Moluccas; in all of these places they could obtain rich supplies of spices. If contrary winds prevented the passage of the Malacca Strait, he recommended trading with the countries around the Bay of Bengal. It is clear that the backers were worried by the lack of expert navigators with a knowledge of conditions in the eastern seas, for he also suggested that some of his own men who had served in the *Golden Hind* might be enrolled: 'Whereas they [the leaders of the expedition] are desirous to know the fittest places of watering and the best meanes to preserve their helthes, it shalbe sufficient in that they shall have in their companie divers of my men wch were in my late viage who can more effectuallie instruct them both of the places & of the order that is necessarie to be observed.'

This offer was eagerly accepted, and eight men who had been in the Moluccas and had lived in the East Indies for some years were also enrolled. Edward Fenton was entrusted with the command and instructed by the optimistic merchants to trade peaceably 'in foreign parties to the south-eastwards [in other words, via the

Cape)], and to carry out the discovery of 'Cathaia' and China. He was to avoid aggressive action as far as possible and was particularly warned not to attempt to reach his goal by passing through the Straits of Magellan; this might result in a head-on clash with the Spaniards, who were believed to have fortified them to prevent a repetition of Drake's exploit. As far as trading with the Moluccas was concerned, the voyage was a complete fiasco, for the fleet never passed the Cape. Fenton proved to be an erratic and vainglorious leader, with personal ambitions at variance with the commercial aims of the promoters, while the one object of Drake's men was to repeat their old leader's profitable raid on Spanish shipping in the Pacific. The failure of Fenton's voyage conclusively demonstrated the obstacles to be overcome before English traders could reach the East Indies.

Although the political situation in Europe continued to distract attention from the East, proposals for further voyages were still put forward, and Drake's name was again mentioned in 1585 as commander of an operation in the East, 'in all probability for conquest rather than commerce'.* Before the Spanish threat in home waters was removed by the dispersal and partial destruction of the Spanish Armada, Thomas Cavendish accomplished the third circumnavigation, a courageous feat, which also revealed the riches to be gained. Cavendish summed up his achievement in a letter to the Lord Chamberlain: 'From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all Nova Hispania, I navigated to the Ilandes of Philippinas hard upon the coast of China, of which Countrie I have brought such intelligence as hath not bene heard of in these parts. The statelines and riches of which countrie I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited. For if I had not knowne sufficiently the incomparable welth of that countrey, I should have ben as incredulous thereof, as others will be that have not had the like experience. I sayled along the Ilands of Maluccas, where among some of the heathen people, I was well intreated, where our country men may have trade as freely as the Portingals, if they will themselves.'

He had shown also that Spanish authority could be flouted in the waters around the Philippines, and that supplies could be replenished in southern Java.

* E. G. R. Taylor, quoting J. A. Williamson, in *The Troublesome Voyage of Edward Fenton*.

Tales of the wealth of this region had indeed been filtering back from Hispanic America for some years. As early as 1572 Henry Hawkes, an English merchant resident in Mexico, had sent home to Richard Hakluyt the elder a glowing account of the Philippines, derived from an enthusiastic Spanish friend:

'It was my fortune to be in companie with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first pilot that ever went to that countrey of the Phillippinaes. He maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswel riches, as others, and saith, if there be any Paradise upon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting under a tree, you shall have such sweete smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife nor children, nor have any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the oderiferous smels will be so sweete. This man hath good livings in Nova Hispania, notwithstanding he will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure, there is abundance, as he maketh mention.'

Trade with China was carried on by many junks: 'The men of the maine land, have certain trafficke with some of these islanders, & come thither in a kind of ships, which they have with one saile, and bring of such merchandize as they have neede of. And of these things there have bene brought into Newe Spaine both cloth of gold, & silver, & divers maners of silkes, & workes of gold and silver, marvelous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a Countrey in the whole world.'

Cavendish was therefore claiming more credit than was really due to him; his achievement was to endorse what Drake had done and to keep the East in the minds of English merchants. So enthusiastic was Cavendish that he immediately prepared for a second voyage. However, his powers of leadership deserted him, his small fleet failing to pass through the Straits of Magellan was scattered, and Cavendish died off the Cape Verde Islands. Despite such failures, however, the London merchants stuck doggedly to their intention to seek wealth in the East, and before news of the Cavendish disaster arrived, the Levant Company was organizing a fleet under the command of James Lancaster in the flagship *Edward Bonaventure*.

On his voyage of 1591 Lancaster had to contend with all the hazards which, experience had taught, should be avoided at all costs. He

wasted much time by hugging the West African coast, and only reached the Cape after losing many of his sailors. The sick were put on board the *Merchant Royal* and sent back to England, and Lancaster sailed on towards crisis after crisis: after a delay of a month, he ran into a great storm and lost the *Penelope* off Cape Corrientes; a number of men were killed in a skirmish in the Comoro Islands; when re-provisioning at Zanzibar, he had to beat off a Portuguese attack. Matters became desperate when he was carried far to the northwards and then by the monsoon beyond Cape Cormorin. He endeavoured to make the Nicobar Islands, but ultimately found himself off northern Sumatra, the first English trading enterprise to reach the archipelago. Well received by the King of Achin, an enemy of the Portuguese, he proceeded to venture down the Malacca Strait, seizing Portuguese and native ships. Having thus stirred up opposition rather pointlessly, he abandoned the eastwards course and, perhaps influenced by Drake's advice to Fenton, turned his attention to the Bay of Bengal, but not to trade. His purpose was to lie off Ceylon and seize Portuguese shipping proceeding to Malacca.

By this time, however, his men had suffered enough hardship, and Lancaster was obliged to sail for the Cape. There was more trouble in the Atlantic, for eager to be home they insisted on sailing northwards instead of taking the longer route to the west. Six months were thus wasted in the Doldrums. After a series of extraordinary misadventures, Lancaster was carried by a French ship to Brittany from where he made his way to London. Nothing was ever heard again of the *Edward Bonaventure*.



Meanwhile the Dutch were watching with increasing interest the fortunes of the English in the East. By the time Lancaster had returned from his shattering voyage they had founded their first trading company. In several respects they had advantages over their rivals, and until their final break with Spain, their merchants and navigators and financiers had taken a share in the expansion.

Throughout the century Antwerp had been the European terminus of the spice trade and the Dutch had shared in the distribution of oriental merchandise through west and north Europe. Linschoten mentions several men who had resided in the East Indies, and

even in Japan. Their pilots were aware of the advances in the science of navigation made by the Portuguese and Spaniards (the Portuguese mathematician, Pedro Nunez, had for instance tackled some of the problems arising from the sphericity of the earth) and were developing them further. Gerhard Mercator had elaborated on Nunez's theories and worked out his projection in order to solve the difficulties of plotting a course on a flat surface. All this contributed enormously to contemporary knowledge, much of which can be found in Linschoten's *Itinerario*. This work is therefore worthy of some notice as a general appreciation of the contemporary East Indian scene and as a commentary on the actions of early intruders into the Portuguese sphere.

A considerable amount of the material in it Linschoten drew from other authorities, including the histories of Mendoza, already mentioned, Maffei, and Camoens' *Lusiads*. Its real value lay in his first-hand account of conditions and life in Goa, where he had resided for five years in the suite of the Archbishop, together with the information he obtained from acquaintances who had travelled further east. Among these were a Dutch pilot, Dirck Gerrits, who had made the voyage from Goa to Japan—Linschoten tells us that but for lack of means he would have accompanied Dirck—and Gerrit van Afhuysen who had spent fourteen months in Malacca. In his account of the voyage out, Linschoten stressed the importance of arriving off south-east Africa early in July, when a course could be set through the channel between Madagascar and the mainland to Mozambique. There the crews could recover and load fresh supplies of water, before taking advantage of the monsoon to sail for Goa. Ships arriving later than early July passed to the east of Madagascar and made Cochin, not Goa—a tedious route on which men suffered greatly from the heat and from scurvy. Loss of life on the voyage to India was serious; thirty men died on his ship, a figure which he considered average, and he was told of a heavily overcrowded ship which had lost 900 out of a total of 1,100.

Mozambique, 'a verie great and a safe haven', was guarded by a strong fort, not heavily manned. Its situation was distinctly unhealthy, and many died while their ships lay there. The post of Captain was one of the most lucrative in Portuguese India; the others, apart from Goa, the centre of government, were Hormuz and Malacca. The Captain, he was told, drew most of his profit

from the gold dust collected along the coast, mainly at Sofala. There was also a considerable export of African slaves to India and the archipelago.

Linschoten's description of Goa is lively and full of interest and its general accuracy is borne out by later writers. While the Portuguese were firmly entrenched there and at Cochin, they were experiencing difficulties in maintaining control of the Malabar coast. 'Among these Malabars,' he explained, 'the white Mores do inhabite that beleeeve in Mahomet, and their greatest traffique is unto the redde sea, although they may not doe it, neither any Indian, without the Portingalles pasport, otherwise the Portingals army (which yearly saileth along the coasts, to keepe them cleare from sea rovers) for the safetie of their marchants, finding them or any other Indian or nation, at sea without a pasport, woulde take them for a prize, as oftentimes it happeneth that they bring shippes from Cambaia, Malabar, or from the Ile of Sumatra, and other places that traffique to the red sea. These Mores of Cananor keepe friendshippe with the Portingalles, because of the fortresse which holdeth them in subjection, yet covertly are their deadly enemies, and secretly contribute great summes of money to the other Malabars, to the end that they should mischiefe and trouble the Portingalles by all the meanes they can devise.'

Portuguese resources were also strained in maintaining their position in Malacca. The independent kingdoms in Sumatra, particularly Achin in the north, threatened communications through the Malacca Strait, so much so that they had contemplated the conquest of the island; but this was an undertaking beyond their capacity. 'This Dache[m] [Achin] is verie mighty and a great enemy to the Portingals, he hath often besieged Malacca, and done it great mischiefe, as it happened in the time of my bidding in India, by stopping the passage of all victuals and other Merchandize comming to Malacca, as also by keeping the passage of the straight betweene Malacca and Sumatra, so that the ships of China, Japen, and the Ilande of Molucco were forced to saile about, whereby they passed much danger to the great discommoditie of travelling Marchants, and they of Malacca and India had many gallies in the Straights of Malacca, which some accursed Christians that have no residence, had taught them to make, whereby they did great mischiefe, and yet daily doe, but by Gods helpe and the Portingales ayde out

of India, all places were freed, and reduced into their pristine estate.'

Strangely enough, Linschoten had little to say about Java, not even being certain that it was an island, for its breadth was not known, 'because as yet it is not discovered, nor by the inhabitants themselves knowne. Some think it be firme land, of the countrie called Terra incognita which shoulde reach from that place to the Cape of Bona Speranza, but it is yet not certainly knowne, and therefore it is accounted for an Iland'. Linschoten's source seems ill-informed in this matter, or it is possible that he was confusing Java with New Guinea, to which a similar interpretation is usually attached on sixteenth-century maps. On the other hand, this ignorance of Javanese geography could be due to the fact, as he stated elsewhere, that 'the Portingales come not hither [to Java] because great numbers of Java come themselves unto Malacca to sell their wares'. Of the Moluccas he also had little to say, except to warn against going ashore to bargain with its inhabitants; a friend of his had been cast away on that coast and had endured a most miserable life until ransomed.

The further Linschoten moved from Goa, in fact, the more he depended upon other authorities. His account of China was almost entirely extracted from Mendoza's *History*, although he added a more original account of the Portuguese settlement at Macao, and of the conduct of the trade with China and Japan. 'In April they depart from Goa to Malacca where they must stay a certaine time for the winds [monsoon]. From Malacca they sail to Macao, where they stay near nine months for the monsoon, and then they sail to Japan, where they must likewise stay certaine months againe, to return with the monsoon to Macao, where again they stay, as in their voyage outwards; so that the time of three yeares is fully expired before they have made their Viage to and from.' This trade with Japan was a royal monopoly; the office of Captain, appointed annually, was conferred for services rendered, and the holder collected his reward just as the Viceroy in Goa amassed his.

Writing of Japan, Linschoten recorded that he had met in Goa four young Japanese noblemen, Christian converts, on their way to Europe under Jesuit auspices. This journey, during which they were received in great state by Philip II of Spain, and Pope Sixtus V, was the climax of the missionary achievement in Japan; on their

return, the implication that Spain was aiming at outright political control triggered off the persecution of the Christians which led ultimately to the expulsion of all foreigners except the Dutch, who were permitted to retain their factory at Hirado. These activities of the Jesuits attracted Linschoten's scorn, particularly their efforts 'to reape great profit, and to get much praise, for that most of the gifts which the princes of Japan had given them, fell to their shares'. No man might deal there without their licence: 'They have almost all the countrie under their subjection, such as are converted to the faith of Christ, as well spirituall as temporall, making the Japans beleeve what they list, they are honoured like gods, for that the Japans make so great account of them, that they doe almost pray unto them as if they were Saints.' Their 'subtill practices and devices' and their interest in commerce had also begun to arouse hostility in India, both among the other religious orders and the local people.

In addition to this appreciation of the strategic position of Portugal in the East, Linschoten provided an interesting analysis of the organization and social conditions in the territories, as seen by a critical observer. Albuquerque's plans for a settled and responsible citizenry had not quite worked out as he had hoped. Intermarriage between the races had continued, and no one was reckoned a free citizen of Goa who was not married and resident therein. Linschoten distinguished two main classes, the 'married' men and the soldiers, and remarked on the lack of craftsmen. 'The Portingales in India and Mesticos worke but little': there were some sailmakers and coopers, but the greater number left their slaves to look after their shops. Others hired them to carry out menial duties in the town. Among these people everyone was regarded as of equal social standing: 'When they walke up and down the streates, they goe as proudlie as the best, for there is no one better than another, as they thinke—the rich and the poore man all one, without any difference in their conversations, and companies.'

The life of the soldiers, those who arrived each year with the fleet, under licence to serve for three years, was less pleasant. Their principal objective was to gain sufficient certificates for their services to obtain some advancement or to provide for their return to Portugal. However, 'the distance of the way and the peril of the tedious sea voyage make many to stay in India and employ [them-

selves] as they can best provide'. Between spells of duty with the squadrons patrolling the coasts, they lived generally ten or twelve to a house on a sparse diet with a slave to attend to their wants, sometimes as followers of a captain or engaging in small trading ventures. On active service, their conditions generally improved; their captains often provided clothing and equipment, and rations were better. Linschoten considered that, owing to this system, these military operations were not effectively organized, and morale, except at moments of crisis, was not high; 'By these causes the wars in India are not so hotly pursued, neyther any other countries sought into or founde oute, as at first they used to do . . . but rather heare and there some places lost, for they have enough to do to holde that they have alreadie, also that they do scoure the Sea coastes, and yet many merchants have great losses every year, by means of the sea rovers . . . The Portugals have only some Townes, places and fortresses, with their havens on the sea coast, without holding any thing within the land.'

As for the indigenous population of the city, including the small merchants who frequented the markets or engaged under licence in trade further afield, he thought that on the whole they were accorded a reasonable degree of toleration, provided they did not fall foul of the Church. 'Touching the Portingales justice and ordinances, worldly and spiritual, they are as in Portingale. They dwell in the town among, as Indians, Heathens, Moores, Jewes, Armenians, Gusarates, Benianes, Bramenes, and of all Indian nations and people, which doe all dwell and traficke therein, evereie man holding his owne religion, without constrayning any man to doe against his conscience, onely their ceremonies of burning the dead, and the living, of marrying and other develish inventions, they are forbidden by the Archbishop to use them openly, or in the Iland, but they may freeilie use them upon the firme land, and secretly in their houses, to shunne all occasions of scandal that might be given to Christians which are but newlie baptised; but touching the worldly policy or good government of the countrie, and executing of justice, as also for the ruling of the townes men in the citie, it is common to them all, and they are under the Portingales law, and he that is once christened, and is after found to use any heathenish superstitions, is subject to the Inquisition, what so ever he be, or for any point whatsoever.'

Linschoten dwelt much on the high state maintained by the Viceroy, which was imitated, to the degree that their means permitted, by the people of quality. He exercised full and absolute power from the King, save that there was a right of appeal to the Crown, a right however which in criminal matters no one below the rank of *fidalgo* could exercise. The emoluments he received from the Crown were reputed to be relatively small, so it was recognized that he was free to amass what wealth he could from the handling of the revenues. According to Linschoten, the first year of office was spent in taking over, the second in furthering his own interests and the third in preparing to hand over to his successor. This procedure was followed by all the Captains of fortresses and other officials. Despite general dissatisfaction with the system, it was unlikely to improve until the three-year term was altered. For all these social and administrative reasons, Linschoten considered it unlikely that any significant move would, or could, be made to strengthen Portugal's position.

The British and Dutch activities in the East did not escape the notice of the French who in the earlier decades of the sixteenth century had made an attempt to share in the East Indian trade, one vessel reaching Sumatra in 1527. An expedition of 1601 under Frotet, however, was a failure, but is of interest as on it sailed François Pyrard de Laval who wrote a valuable account of his experiences. After his ship had been wrecked in the Maldivé Islands and the crews made prisoners, Pyrard served the King for five years, until raiders from India carried him off to Chittagong. After various misadventures, he was imprisoned by the Portuguese at Goa. Released by the intervention of the Jesuits, he remained there for two years, became a soldier and, taking part in the annual expeditions, helped to clear the Malabar coast of pirates.

Much of what Linschoten says of the *Estado da India* was borne out by Pyrard de Laval, when he set down his impressions of Goa twenty years later. Being a French Catholic, he was a more sympathetic observer, though he had undergone trying experiences. As he arrived in Goa a sick man and spent some time in the *Misericórdia*, the hospital run by the Jesuits, he was naturally loud in praise of its palatial buildings—the finest in the world—the orderly manner in which it was run, the general cleanliness and the care devoted to the soldier patients, there being another hospital for

Christian women and Christian Indians. The military patients were suffering from scurvy and dysentery contracted on the journey out, cholera and other endemic diseases, in addition to wounds resulting from the constant fighting. The mortality rate was high because of medical ignorance, and this was aggravated by the fact that the surgeons, like all other officials, were usually newcomers appointed for three years and thus without local experience. Fevers were treated by constant bleeding, but little could be done for cholera.

Nevertheless by isolating the victims and maintaining a standard of cleanliness, the contagion was checked, and the mere existence of the hospital raised morale; the Misericordia and similar institutions in other settlements certainly enjoyed a high reputation. The inmates were undoubtedly better off than the galley slaves and other sorts of vile people ' . . . cast pell-mell in a stinking air, sometimes two or three hundred or more'.

From his own experiences Pyrard gave a detailed account of service in the army. By his time, manpower was a critical problem, and levies were raised in Portugal from males over ten years of age. 'If they cannot find any that will go of their own accord, they take them by force, and of any age, and enrol them in the Casa da India Oriental, which is the India Office ordinarily held in Lisbon: they have to give surety up to the time of their embarking. The whole of their pay for the voyage is advanced to them, because most of them are children of poor peasants and have need of habillements and arms; their pay is according to their quality.' Those who went out to take up high appointments had their expenses paid, and once in India they all received special treatment. 'Wherefore they will not that any Portuguese or other [European] should do any vile or dishonourable work, nor should beg his livelihood, they will rather maintain him to the best of their power. Insomuch that the greatest of them treat the lowliest with honour, and they infinitely prize the title, "Portuguese of Portugal", calling such an one *homo blanco*, or "white man".' In this connection he related with amusement that on the outward voyage, having passed the Cape of Good Hope, they assumed self-bestowed titles, calling themselves all gentlemen, even though they were of low condition. The nobles took no offence at this, regarding it as done 'to make the Indians believe that they are of goodly and illustrious parentage, so having no race of vile churls among them . . . So these Indians were all amazed when we told

them that these fellows were sons of porters, cobblers, drawers of water, and other vile craftsmen'.

Pyrard estimated that in Goa there were 5,000 Portuguese and *mestico* soldiers plus innumerable Indian levies. These soldiers could do what they wished when they landed; they received no pay, 'they are not even constrained to go to war, save on extraordinary occasions'. During the closed season for voyages, they fed at the houses of the great officers or at the monasteries. On mustering for service at sea they received six months' pay in advance and often, on their return, a gratuity from the Viceroy. When not so employed, owing to the discredit attached to manual labour, they spent much time idling, gambling and intriguing. Eventually most of those who survived married and went into trade, not attempting to return to Portugal. This was a simple method of obtaining a militia at little more than the cost of the voyage, but it had its disadvantages for the Estado. Efforts were made to induce idle soldiery to move to other forts; there was also the temptation for them to seek service with another state, or, as many did, to set out on their own as freelance traders.

Despite all these disadvantages, the Portuguese soldiery maintained a martial spirit to the end. Life in Goa fostered a spirit of camaraderie and the determination to uphold the reputation of their predecessors. It was understood that the Crown would not redeem those taken prisoner by the enemy; but here again the corporative spirit came into play, for the wealthier citizens would often pay the ransoms demanded. And some change occurred in this system when the technical superiority of the Dutch became evident. The latter were astute enough to let it be known that they would give quarter to defeated enemies. And since the smaller trading vessels were largely manned by Indian crews, under a Portuguese captain and pilot, they were less hesitant in surrendering.

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The first efforts of the Dutch, like those of the English, had been in the direction of the north-east passage. In the event, however, these proved unprofitable, and in 1595 they launched their first voyage by the south-east with four ships under Cornelis van Houtman.

Houtman's experiences and conduct closely resembled those of James Lancaster, but he was successful in penetrating further to

the east. In June 1596 his fleet reached the north-west coast of Sumatra, where he received a courteous but reserved welcome from the Portuguese traders and was able to do some business with the King of Achin. At Bantam, on the north coast of Java, where pepper was available, he concluded a commercial treaty with the Moslem king. Then, sailing eastwards, after calling at Kalapa, he was heavily attacked off the island of Madura by the Javanese. Though he beat off the assault, he suffered heavy losses and was obliged to abandon one of his ships. But his stay at Bali compensated for some of the hardships and, refreshed, he sailed home by the south coast of Java and the Cape.

Like Lancaster, Houtman had paid a heavy price for his success. Of his original crew of 250, 145 had died before he reached eastern waters and only some eighty men returned to Amsterdam. One ship had been lost, and the small cargo did not recoup the outlay. The Dutch historian, B. H. M. Vlekke, attributes much of the failure to the conduct of the leader and his crews: Houtman was 'a boaster and a ruffian', and as to the crews, 'rough, impertinent and preposterous conduct brought these first Dutchmen into great difficulties with the Indonesian rulers'. Vlekke was also censorious of James Lancaster for his acts of piracy in the Malacca Strait. In the circumstances, these criticisms are perhaps a little severe, as some of the errors were undoubtedly due to a feeling of insecurity in a strange environment; but the main cause was the conflict between trading peacefully and carrying on an undeclared war.

Heavy though Houtman's losses were, the Dutch were elated that he had operated in the Indian Ocean and the archipelago without overt opposition from the Portuguese, and had returned direct from Java. In a remarkable burst of enthusiasm and high hopes of a profitable future, trading companies were formed in several cities and in 1598 no less than five expeditions set sail, involving twenty-two vessels. Thirteen took the south-eastern route and nine attempted the Magellan Straits. Of the latter, only one, commanded by Oliver van Noort, reached the East Indies, and completed a circumnavigation via the Cape. His expedition, however, was more in the nature of an attack on Spanish authority in the Pacific than a commercial venture. A more striking success was achieved by Jacob van Neck, commander of the second fleet, who succeeded in reaching the Banda Islands, where he traded peacefully and profitably with

the native rulers, although not without arousing the jealousy of the Moslem traders visiting the islands. Part of his fleet also put in at Ternate where, as in the other islands, trading posts were set up.

Among the Dutch fleets which sailed by way of the Straits of Magellan was one commanded by Jacques Mahu. Although from a commercial point of view his expedition was a complete failure, it was notable because the one surviving ship eventually reached Japan after making a remarkable crossing of the Pacific from south-east to north-west. It was also notable that this vessel was conducted on the crossing by the chief pilot, William Adams of Gillingham in Kent, the first Englishman to set foot in Japan. In addition to being a skilled pilot, Adams was above the ordinary run of seamen. He had gained his expertise in the English navy and in twelve years' service with the 'Worshipfull Company of the Barbarie Merchants' in North Africa; in joining the 'Indian Traffik from Holland', he was not only tempted by the rewards, but was desirous, as he put it, 'to make a little experience of the small knowledge which God had given me'. The Dutch were evidently short of skilled men for these enterprises, since Adams had as companion another English pilot, Timothy Shotten, who unlike Adams had first-hand experience of the East, having made the circumnavigation with Thomas Cavendish.

The Dutch commander made most of the usual mistakes: a late start so that he was delayed by contrary winds in the Gulf of Guinea; a diversion to sack the Portuguese settlement on the island of Anobon; and, more serious, his decision to winter near the entrance to the Straits, no doubt because he was alarmed at the presence of ice and refused, to Adams' disgust, to take advantage of favourable winds. As a result, rations ran out and many men died of hunger.

Once in the Pacific, the flagship and Adams' own ship lost sight of their consorts, who were never heard of again. After taking on fresh supplies on the coast of Chile, where twenty-five men were lost in a fight with Indians, the survivors decided to set course for Japan, where they 'hoped to find a better market for their cloth than the East Indies'. But a further tragedy occurred when at an early stage the flagship was lost, and Adams was forced to sail doggedly on alone in desperate plight. At one time, through sickness, 'there were no more than sixe, beside my self, that could stand upon their feet'. On another occasion eight men seized the pinnace 'and ran

from us, and (as we suppose) were eaten of the wild men, of which people we took one'. Finally, after sighting the Bonin Islands, a landfall was made near Bungo on the Japanese island of Kyushu. This astonishing piece of navigation was apparently made simply with the aid of a small-scale printed map of the world, for Adams was said to have had Peter Plancius's world map of 1594 with him. Strangely, he had a poor opinion of the maps available, for he recorded that he had sought the 'North Cape' of Japan in 30° N., but 'found it not, by reason that it lyeth false in all Chartes, and Globes, and Maps; for the Cape lyeth in 35 degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, which is a great difference. In the end we came in thirtie two degrees $\frac{1}{2}$, and then had sight of the land'. His complaint does not appear justified; Plancius put the 'North Cape' in $35^{\circ} 30'$ N., the southern extremity of Japan quite accurately in 30° N. and Bungo in $32^{\circ} 30'$, also accurately, and in accord with Adams' position for his landfall. It is possible that when Samuel Purchas printed Adams' narrative in his *Pilgrimes* some confusion crept in. However this may be, he had certainly brought off a great feat of navigation.

Shortly after his arrival, Adams was visited by a Jesuit priest, and then imprisoned by the Emperor. The Portuguese and Jesuits, annoyed by the intrusion into what they regarded as their domain, tried hard to have the Dutch condemned as 'Pirats and not in the way of Marchandizing'; and two of the survivors actually went over to their side in an attempt to take over the entire cargo. Meanwhile Adams lay in prison, daily expecting to be executed, and it was not for another two years that he won the favour of the Emperor to whom he taught mathematics and geometry, and was commissioned to build a small vessel. As a reward, he was granted a lordship, with eighty or ninety husbandmen, and settled down with a Japanese wife. He subsequently built a bigger vessel which achieved fame when she was given to the Spanish Governor of the Philippines, whose great ship had been wrecked on the east coast, to conduct him back to Acapulco in Mexico.

Adams was eventually able, through the good offices of the Dutch merchants, to get two letters back to England, which were printed by Samuel Purchas in 1625. But they were too late to have much influence. Having reported the arrival of two Dutch ships in 1609, Adams went on to point out shrewdly the value to them of their trade with Japan. 'You shall understand that the Hollanders have,

here, an Indies of money; for they need not to bring Silver out of Holland in to the East Indies. For, in Japan, there is much Silver and Gold to serve their turnes in other places where need requireth in the East Indies. But the merchandize, which is here vendible for readie money, is, raw Silke, Damaske, black Taffities, blacke and red Cloth, Lead, and such like goods.' With the silver obtained for these, the Dutch bought the spices and other merchandise which they sought in the south-eastern archipelago.

News of these Dutch activities and particularly of the rich profits won by van Neck, and the threat to the country's trading position, aroused the London merchants, whose morale had sunk low after Lancaster's expensive venture. The formation of the East India Company was delayed by the peace negotiations with Spain, during which the Spanish representatives refused to recognize English rights to trade in the Indies, but when these broke down, the Company was incorporated by royal charter, and five vessels were fitted out under the command of James Lancaster. In considering candidates, the Company refused to contemplate the 'employment of gents'. Evidently they had no taste for further privateering ventures; the voyage was to be conducted on business lines.

Lancaster had not learnt much from experience, for the fleet kept too near the West African coast and was becalmed for a month; and by the time it reached the Cape many had died from scurvy. Seven weeks were spent in recuperating there, and there were further delays in north-east Madagascar and the Nicobars. It was not until eighteen months after leaving England that the fleet anchored off Achin. The king was hospitable and gratified at the arrival of an enemy of Portugal. Thus encouraged, Lancaster rashly repeated his earlier procedure, and seized a great ship from India in the Malacca Strait. Then, having loaded and dispatched one of his vessels to England, he sailed on to Bantam, where despite his previous disputes he was able to take on two shiploads of pepper, and arranged to leave some factors with the surplus merchandise to await the next voyage. He sailed in February 1603 and after a stormy voyage reached England, having been away two years and seven months.

Among those left at Bantam by Lancaster was the agent, Edmund Scott, who recorded his experiences in his *Exact discourse* (published in London in 1606). This gives a lively account of the trials he endured. The Javanese and Chinese continually harassed his small

party, starting numerous fires, and attempting to kill them. Added to this, the Hollanders, at first friendly, intrigued with the king against Scott. But the situation was saved when the Dutch fell foul of the Javanese. To distinguish his men from the Dutch, Scott carried out a bold manoeuvre on St. George's Day: 'Wee all suted ourselves in new apparrell of silke, and made us all scarffes of white and redd taffata (beeing our countries cullours). Also wee made a flagge with the redde crosse thorow the middle. And because wee that were the marchants would be knowne from our men, wee edged our scarffes with a deepe fringe of golde, and that was our difference.

'Our day beeing come, wee set up our banner of Sainct George upon the top of our house, and with our drumme and shott wee marched up and downe within our own ground, being but foure-teene in number, wherefore wee could march but single, one after another; plying our shotte, and casting ourselves in rings and esses . . . In the afternoone I caused our men to walke abroad the towne and the market; whereby the people might take notice of them. Their red and white scarffes and hatbandes made such a shew that the inhabitants of those partes had never seene the like.'

So effective was this action that children would run after them in the streets crying: 'The Englishmen are good, the Hollanders are naught.'

In this resolute spirit Scott negotiated with the king, admonishing him that 'kinges must keepe their wordes, or else they were no kinges'. But he had a cruel side to his character, as is clear when he relates in some detail, almost with gusto, the torture to which he put a Javanese to confess that he had conspired to set fire to the English 'house'.

Ironically, Lancaster had brought back too much pepper, which was not disposed of for several years, but the Company, since they now had a factory at Bantam containing part of the proceeds of the first voyage, were obliged with some difficulty to organize a second voyage. The command went to Henry Middleton, a less venturesome but more reliable leader than Lancaster. His orders were not to lose time by putting into Table Bay. However, when in its vicinity, 'Our sick men cryed out most lamentably; for at that present there were sicke of the scurvy at the least 80 men of our ship, not one able to helpe the other; who made a petition to the

Generall, most humbly entreating him, for God's sake, to save there lives and to put in for Saldania [Table Bay]; otherwayes they were but dead men. The Generall, perusing there pitiful complaint and looking out of this cabin dore, where did attend a swarme of lame and weake, diseased criples; who, behoulding this lamentable sight, extended his compassion towards them and graunted their requests'.

The efforts of the Company to provide for such emergencies were not greatly appreciated: 'Many of our men felle sicke of the scurvy, calenture, bloody flux, and the wormes; being left to the mercie of God and a smale quantitie of lyman juyce every morning; our phisition shipt for that purpose being as unwilling as ignorant in any thing that might helpe them—a great oversight in the Company, and no doubt wilbe better lookt to hereafter.'

The outward voyage, even so, was relatively speedy, and Middleton dropped anchor at Bantam nine months after setting out. Scott was very distressed by the condition of the sailors: 'When we came aboard of our admirall and saw their weaknesse, also having of the weaknesse of the other three shippes, it grieved us much; knowing that Bantam is not a place to recover men that are sicke, but rather to kill men that come thither in health.' However, Middleton was still able to send back two ships, largely manned by Malays and Chinese, and loaded with pepper. He then proceeded to the Banda and Molucca Islands, for the Company was anxious to vary their imports with cloves, nutmegs and other merchandise. The time of his arrival at Ternate and Tidore was not auspicious, for the Dutch were about to seize the Portuguese fort on Tidore and they made it plain that they intended to do their best to exclude the English from the trade of the archipelago. Nevertheless, Middleton secured good cargoes, reorganized the factory at Bantam, and returned to England with substantial and valuable merchandise. The first commercial voyage from England to the Moluccas had been a success, though in view of the Dutch attitude future prospects were not bright.

Opinion in England was, in fact, sharply divided over the wisdom of seeking commercial expansion in the East Indies. Politically, there was throughout the last decade of the sixteenth century a strong feeling that there must be some end to the war with Spain, a policy which was implemented on the accession of the House of Stuart. The proportionately high loss of ships and men was held to outweigh the alleged advantages and to sap the country's power in

home waters. A few critics went so far as to argue that these ventures into the Tropics, where men were ravaged by scurvy at sea and by fevers on land, should be abandoned in favour of a return to the exploitation of the northern routes to China and the Moluccas. Their opponents argued that, though long stretches of these routes lay through temperate regions, there was nevertheless the apparently impenetrable ice barrier to be negotiated. And so the controversy raged.

Many maintained that if the policy was to be overseas expansion, a more promising field lay on the western shores of the Atlantic, only two or three months' sailing distance away, in contrast to the eighteen months or two years an eastern voyage might occupy. On the North American continent could be found, moreover, a fit and convenient place for a colony of settlement, infinitely preferable to a few fever-ridden factories in the midst of a multitude of heathen and often hostile peoples. This train of thought led ultimately to the establishment of the permanent colonies of Virginia and New England. And to these political objections were added the economic; the Indian trade was draining quantities of silver out of England to pay for luxury goods, mainly pepper which was flooding the market. The more profitable course was to push on with the export trade with north-west Europe and the Baltic, where there was a demand for English cloth; or if eastern wares were necessary, develop the Levant trade with Aleppo and Turkey.

The directors of the East India Company could not but acknowledge the measure of truth in these arguments. Nevertheless it was not easy for them to stand aside and watch their Dutch competitors reap a rich harvest and also threaten the roots of English trade with the Levant. They still cherished the hope that they would eventually find a market for English cloth in the East, acknowledging as Will Adams wrote later, 'the Malucos, and the most part of the East Indies, were hot Countreyes, where woollen cloth would not be much excepted'. It was for this reason that the spice trade required the export of considerable quantities of silver. They proposed therefore to extend their activities and to diversify their trade. The first two voyages had learnt of a possible alternative; there was a great demand in the islands for muslin, calicoes and other light cheap stuffs which were brought by merchants from Bengal, the Coromandel coast and Gujerat. As there might be a better demand for cloth

in northern India and adjacent regions, the Company planned to dispose of English goods there in exchange for those in demand further east, and after transporting these to barter them for the products of the islands. In this way the necessity to export silver would be avoided and English manufactures stimulated.

The Company hoped that as a peace treaty with Spain was about to be negotiated, the harassment and loss of their ships would be ended. But they had also a more particular reason for pressing forward, since there were still several of their officers in the East, with assets accruing from the earlier adventurers. In pursuance of this policy, the instructions for the third voyage were consequently to endeavour to establish commercial relations with the Mogul Empire in northern India, preferably directly or failing that with Arabian or Red Sea ports which traded with it.

To meet this challenge, the Company was reorganized, with each voyage in the future to be a separate undertaking, in competition with its predecessors. Factories would be set up under the control of officials with long-term appointments. The command of the voyage was entrusted to William Keeling, in the *Dragon*, who had served with Middleton; his second-in-command was William Hawkins, who, since he could speak Turkish, probably had experience as a merchant in the eastern Mediterranean. They were to avoid calling at Saldanha, watering instead at St. Augustine's Bay, in south-west Madagascar, and on the East African coast. Their first objective was the island of Socotra where they might obtain intelligence of Aden. If trade at Aden was good, the *Hector* was to return at once, while the *Dragon* proceeded to Bantam, with a possible call en route at a port in Gujerat.

After an unduly long voyage, and watering at Saldanha despite instructions, they did reach Socotra but failed because of contrary winds to try their fortune at Aden. It was then decided to separate, Hawkins proceeding to Gujerat, Keeling to Java. After loading pepper at Priaman in Sumatra, Keeling arrived at Bantam in October 1606, with the intention of continuing on to the Moluccas for cloves, but after various contretemps he eventually reached Banda in the following year. There he loaded nutmeg and mace but then found himself a witness of the Dutch seizure of the island, after which he was warned that he would not be permitted to infringe the Dutch monopoly further. With a valuable cargo he

sailed for Bantam and was back in England by May 1610. Meanwhile Hawkins at Surat had obtained permission to dispose of his cargo, but was not allowed to set up a factory; as was to be expected, the Portuguese opposed any such concession as a threat to trade with Goa. After a number of incidents, Hawkins set out for the Emperor Jehangir's court at Agra where he was courteously received, representing himself as an accredited envoy of the King of England. But Jehangir flatly refused to conclude a general agreement, and after more intrigues Hawkins, disheartened, returned to Surat at the end of 1611. The situation was resolved by the arrival of Thomas Best, who first obtained a temporary treaty with the Mogul's governor, allowing the establishment of factories at Surat and at other towns in his territories, and then defeated in four naval engagements the unwieldy Portuguese fleet under Nuno da Cunha, sent from Goa to drive off the English.

Anxious to bring this uncertainty to an end and to obtain a firm agreement, the governors of the East India Company succeeded in persuading James I to send out Sir Thomas Roe in 1615 as a fully accredited ambassador to Shah Jehan. Roe was well received by the Emperor, who however continued to show little interest in concluding a formal treaty. For three years the ambassador patiently followed the Mogul court, behaving with the utmost circumspection. His narrative of these experiences depicts the character of Jehan and court life with shrewdness and in vivid detail. Avoiding involvement in court intrigues and quarrels, he stuck to his conviction that trade could only be advanced by peaceful means, without any threat of force. In this he was, ironically, pursuing the policy which Almeida had desired to execute—the setting up of trading stations by agreement and their maintenance by control of the seas, and the avoidance of armed conflict on land. Nevertheless, such a policy for a European nation would have been impossible if the Portuguese had not established military supremacy in the first place. In the face of continued opposition, Roe's patience was rewarded by a treaty carefully restricting the position of the English. Reasonable facilities for trade were granted, but the English were not permitted to build or own their factories or to carry arms. But, from this moment, Surat was a permanent English base.

Here the history of the English in India diverges from that of the discovery of the East. Since it was gradually becoming clear that the

Dutch had the power and the determination to prevent the growth of a rival empire in the archipelago, the English concentrated their attention on northern India, in developing trade with Arabia, Persia and neighbouring countries. From these endeavours was to spring the British Indian Empire.

The slow improvement in their affairs did not suppress criticism of the East India Company, and the continuing controversy gave rise to a considerable literature. The Company's answer was summed up with vigour in a pamphlet published in 1621. Some of its arguments can scarcely have had a wide appeal. On the loss of life, the reader is admonished: 'The life of man is so pretious, that it ought not lightly to be exposed to danger; And yet we know, that the whole course of our life, is nothing but a passage unto Death; wherein one can neither stay nor slacke his pace, but all men run in one manner, and in one celeritie; the shorter liver runnes his course no faster than the long, both have a like passage of time; howbeit, the first hath not so farre to runne as the later.' If here was no employment found for good mariners, they joined 'even with Turkes and Infidels, to rob and spoyle all Christian nations'. Nor were the losses as heavy as formerly: 'time has taught us many things, both for the preservation of health and speedier performance of our voyage than heretofore'.

Both the English and the Dutch made some progress in improving the health of their crews at sea. They could do less about the losses suffered in eastern ports. Schouten passed through the Straits of Magellan and reached Java with the loss of three men only, while Downton reached Swally with the loss of one man. However, he then lost many from 'fluxes and feavers'. Schouten had taken sound precautions; the rations were 'a can of beere a day, four pound of Biskit and half a pound of Butter (beside sweet Suet) a weeke, and five Cheeses for the whole voyage'. During its course, also, he took on quantities of 'limons' and bananas on the African coast, fished whenever the opportunity offered and collected thousands of eggs of 'blackish sea-Mues' when off Patagonia. Farewell states that his ship was 'compleatly furnished (besides private provisions) with varieties for health and preservation of life', but does not state what the varieties were. Once ashore, it was 'everyone to himselfe herein, being (as we say) either a foole or a physition'. As to the losses in ships, the writer calculated that

in the past twenty years since the foundation of the Company, seventy-nine had sailed to the East in several voyages, and of these thirty-four had returned safely, while twenty-one were still in service there. The losses amounted to twenty-four, of which twelve had been lost to the Dutch, in all, one-third of those employed.

He had no doubt of the profitability of the ventures. According to his calculations based on the Company's books, £548,000 sterling had been exported in ready money, plus manufactured goods to the value of £292,000. In return for this outlay, the merchandise imported had been sold in England for £1,916,000 while he estimated that the assets remaining in the Indies had a value of £484,000. Apart from the latter, this represented a profit of 75 per cent, not an enormous return for transactions spread over twenty years.

In the opening decades of the seventeenth century the era of Portuguese maritime and commercial domination of the East was passing. Within fifty years, the Dutch were securely established in Java and were in control of the Moluccas, having driven off the English, who had then turned to northern India, securing a foothold at Surat. The erosion of Portuguese power continued steadily; Hormuz fell to the Persians, aided by the English, in 1622, and rapidly lost its importance; the settlements on the Malabar coast and Ceylon were seized by the Dutch, to be followed by the heaviest blow of all, their capture of Malacca in 1641. Thus the *Estado da India* was reduced to 'golden Goa', the northern provinces of Diu and Damão, and the settlement at Macao.

CHAPTER NINE

The Portuguese Achievement

PORTUGAL HAD NO doubt of the magnitude of her achievements in the East, achievements which in her eyes far excelled the deeds of the ancients. Albuquerque might dream of emulating their exploits, but to the poet Camoens his country's heroes stood high above Ulysses and Aeneas, Alexander and Trajan; not only had the Portuguese pioneered the routes across oceans formerly believed to be unnavigable but they had established their monarch's sway 'from China to the Nile'. Their feats, triumphs and disasters were proudly recorded by contemporary historians, among whom João de Barros was outstanding. If allowance is made for his tendency to overpraise his heroes, the method and reliability of Barros's *Decades* give him a firm place among the founders of a new school of historical writing, based upon the careful treatment of documentary evidence.

In recording the epic of the 'Portuguese century', the writers introduced not only novelty of content and form but a vitalizing spirit, the whole equal in importance to their effect upon European thought which contributed to the scientific revolution of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the works of contemporary Portuguese writers, Camoens, de Castro, Mendes Pinto, and da Orta, we have the expression of the excitement which the new peoples and lands stimulated in the Portuguese mind, and the spirit of enquiry in which they pursued their secrets. Camoens's *Lusiads* are, first and foremost, a paean of praise to the men who triumphed over so many obstacles, and an appeal to his countrymen to rise to the demands of the moment. During his own chequered career throughout the East, he had learnt to appreciate the men who had won for the Christian faith vast new regions of the earth and gained 'the whole realm of ocean as dowry'. In an enumeration of their triumphs, woven into the narrative of da Gama's voyage, the poet

also reviews Portugal's glorious past and her crippling sacrifices for the Faith. With scorn he upbraids the other nations of Christendom, who, failing to imitate the prowess of Portugal against the infidel, were engaged in quarrelling amongst themselves: 'Madmen that you are, thirsting in your blindness for the blood of your own! But here at least, in this small land of Portugal, there will not lack those who will do and dare for Christendom. In Africa they already hold coastal bases, and in Asia, that queen among the continents; in the New World they are ploughing the fields. Were there more lands to discover they would be there too.'

Yet it is not all undiluted praise. Early in the poem he voices, through an onlooker of da Gama's departure, the widespread criticism of this lust for power: 'Oh, the folly of it, this craving for power, this thirsting after the vanity we call fame, this fraudulent pleasure known as honour that thrives on popular esteem! to what new disasters is it bent on leading this realm and its people? What perils and deaths has it in store for them, concealed under some fair-sounding name? What facile promises of gold-mines and kingdoms does it hold out to them, of fame and remembrance, of palms and trophies and victories? . . . You allow the enemy to flourish at your gates while you go seek at the other side of the world, at the price of depopulating and weakening this ancient kingdom and squandering its resources. You are lured by the perils of the uncertain and the unknown, to the end that fame may exalt and flatter you, proclaiming you with a wealth of titles of India, Persia, Arabia and Ethiopia.'

That this remarkable passage should have escaped the censor is a tribute to the liberty of opinion enjoyed in Portugal before the decline; more oblique criticisms are scattered through the poem, hinting at the causes of the sorry state into which the Indian empire was falling. Camoens particularly stressed the dependence of the Crown upon the men on the spot, and pleaded for great care in their selection: 'What a heavy charge is on the monarch who would govern well to see that his counsellors and intimates are men of conscience and integrity, genuinely devoted to his interests.' The poem ends with a passionate appeal to the king to support his loyal and valiant captains, who were risking life and fortune in extending his dominion, to treat them with humanity and lighten the laws that oppress them; above all, let him accept as counsellors 'the men who

know the how, the when and the whence things fall out to be done'. Ironically, six years after the poem was published, King Sebastian, to whom the poem was addressed, was slain with 8,000 of his men in North Africa, and his kingdom passed into the 'union' with Spain.

But the *Lusiads* are much more than a plea for greatness. The poem is constantly emphasizing that a new era is dawning, not for Portugal alone but for mankind. No longer are men's minds to be bound by classical tradition, which experience has proved false—'The naked and pure truth I tell, surpasses all grandiloquent writings'. And those who still cling to the old notions are admonished: 'Let men of letters see now what secrets nature has.' In this spirit, he describes in precise, colourful sentences what he had himself seen, relating the various peoples to their natural environments. Other writers were inspired to work with the same purpose and dedication. To mention only the more distinguished, there was Garcia da Orta, whose *Colloquies*, in the words of Gilbert Freyre, 'contain what is probably the most rigorously scrupulous scientific systemization made in the sixteenth century of the knowledge of tropical drugs acquired by the Portuguese in the East, either by prudent observation, or by adventurous and wholehearted experiences among the peoples of the tropics'; João de Castro, navigator and scientist, and Mendes Pinto, whose sympathetic interest in the peoples of the East, their lives and fortunes, has already been noted.

Duarte Barbosa also deserves mention for his account of the countries around the Indian Ocean, although it was compiled some years after Pires's *Suma oriental*, and covered the same ground. Notable is his detailed account of the caste system of Malabar.

What, then, was the essence of Portugal's achievements, why did they come about, and what was their effect?

The proposition, once popular, that the Great Age of Discovery was the result of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 is now generally rejected. It rested upon two assertions: first, that the territorial expansion of the Ottoman Turks, by blocking the trade routes from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean, led to the cutting off of the supply of spices and other oriental products to Europe; and secondly, that in order to turn the flank of this barrier, Portuguese and Spanish seamen launched out on the oceans of the world to

find an alternative route to the sources of this much-prized wealth. Of the first it may be said that it was never the policy of the Turks to abolish this trade completely; it was simply a matter of a change of control, one powerful and aggressive state replacing the smaller sultanates of Egypt and the Near East. In their mutual interest, the Turks were as ready as their predecessors to come to terms with foreign merchants. It was certainly a blow to the traffic as it had existed for centuries, when the Venetians failed to stimulate the Mameluke sultanate of Egypt to withstand the advance of the Ottomans, but this took place after Portugal was established on the Malabar coast and in control of the Indian Ocean routes. The decline in the Mediterranean spice trade after 1500 was not the cause but the immediate result of the ocean voyages which diverted the traffic via the Cape of Good Hope to western Europe.

Nor can it be argued that the Ottoman advance was a prime mover in the expansion of Portugal overseas. Before 1453 that country had been pioneering for decades in the Atlantic, not primarily to find a seaway to the Indies but to expand her commerce by the colonization and exploitation of the Atlantic islands, and to open up trade with western Africa. Here they were simply resuming an outward movement which had proved abortive in the fourteenth century. Nor is it an adequate answer to say that it was the Renaissance which inspired the great voyages. It cannot be disputed that in the fifteenth century there was a spirit of enquiry abroad in Europe, drawing inspiration from the recently recovered literature of Greece and Rome, and devoted to an investigation, uninhibited by medieval notions, into the place of man in the world of nature. But the Age of Discovery was as much a contributory factor to, as a product of, the times.

Too much is sometimes made of the 'academic' contribution to the planning of the voyage—to the evocation of scholar-kings poring over the works of the ancients, and then issuing directives to their bold but unlettered sea captains. A Portuguese historian has poked fun at the depiction of men like Prince Henry, in a search for inspiration, tirelessly flicking through the pages of classical authors in a desperate attempt to penetrate their obscurities or resolve their inconsistencies. What encouraged the fifteenth-century navigators to persist was the information they were able to glean, as they progressed, on the wealth (probably much exaggerated) of the western

Sudan, the gold dust, ivory and slaves of the Guinea coast, and the growing experience of the southern Atlantic. Had they paid exclusive attention to the older authorities, they would never have attempted in the first place to penetrate the ocean, reputedly rendered impassable by reason of the insupportable heat; if they had accepted without question Ptolemy's ideas on the Indian Ocean, they would never have found the Cape of Good Hope. As the cosmographer Pacheco Pereira pointed out in his *Esmeraldo*: 'Ptolemy in his portrayal of the ancient tables of cosmography writes that the Indian Sea is like a lake, far removed from our western ocean which passes by southern Ethiopia [in other words, Africa], and that between these two seas there was a strip of land which made it completely impossible for any ship to enter the Indian Sea.' Columbus succeeded in crossing the Atlantic and discovering a 'new world' not so much because of his reading in classical authors but because he had learned from practical seamen the characteristics of the Atlantic wind system, and was bold enough to stake his fortune upon their being accurate. Where he went astray was in attaching importance to the statements he found in the classics, that, for instance, India was but a few days' sail from Spain. This line of argument, however, should not be carried too far; the old authorities were not always in error—the earth was definitely a sphere—and the statesmen sometimes listened to the cosmographers. It is ironic, however, that in the most notable of such consultations, that between the Italian scientist Toscanelli and the Portuguese envoys on the shortest route to the Indies, his counsel to sail westwards rather than to circumnavigate Africa was flatly rejected!

The opening of the Age of Discovery was, therefore, not directly related to the fall of Constantinople, nor was it initially inspired by cosmographical theory. The movement gathered force as Portugal expanded her commerce with the Atlantic coasts of Africa, and sought an ally against Islam in a struggle that had continued for centuries. In Prince Henry's time the objective had been the Sudan trade; then, prompted by reports from West Africa, it was the empire of Ethiopia, until under John II, believing that his captains were approaching the meridian of Alexandria and the Indian Sea, it became the India of the spice trade. Forging their way to the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese overcame each technical difficulty as

it arose. From the medieval sailing ship they evolved the caravel which allowed the coasts to be examined closely and which could take full use of the following winds on the homeward run; and, later, the 'great ship' which could withstand the buffeting of Atlantic gales and carry the material necessary for long voyages. For their use when they had passed the Equator, and the North Star was no longer visible, tables were prepared of the sun's declination, by which they could determine their latitude.

Although the invasion of the Indian Ocean was not technically a Crusade, the desire to convert the heathen to the Faith was a powerful motive in the early days, particularly in opposition to Islam; but as the century progressed this dwindled in importance, and economic gain provided the main inducement. When it was realized that the Christians were only a tiny fraction of the population missionary fervour declined until it was revived by the arrival of the Jesuits. Professor A. P. Newton, indeed, attributed the leading part played by the Portuguese in the discoveries to their being 'the last to retain the medieval inspiration of the crusaders, the paladins and the knights-errant, long after the ages of faith had waned among the other nations of Western Europe into the scepticism of the Renaissance'. This can, however, be more truly said of the Spaniards, for their navigators and friars were still, in the seventeenth century, seeking vast populations in the southern Pacific to convert to the Catholic faith.

The success of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was due to a number of factors, but primarily to their superiority in fire power over their opponents, backed by the determined and fanatical qualities of the fighting men. While most of the leaders showed equal courage, few apart from Almeida and Albuquerque displayed conspicuous foresight. The prospect of reasonable relations with the Malabar rulers was largely shattered by Cabral's ill-considered conduct; by mid-century many lives and much material had been squandered by incursions into the Red Sea which bore little fruit. But for Albuquerque's strategical appreciation and his seizure of Goa, Hormuz and Malacca, Portugal's commercial empire, in the contemporary situation, would have been short-lived.

The Portuguese were also assisted by the political situation in the countries around the Indian Ocean. The small states of eastern Africa and the Malabar coast, divided by local jealousies, lacked

the ability to offer a united opposition. On the Indian sub-continent the sole independent Hindu power of importance, the kingdom of Vijayanagar, was preoccupied in resisting the Moslem advance from the north. There the successor states to the Delhi sultanate were also divided by internal hostilities. Only from the Ottoman Turks could a successful counter-attack be expected, and in mounting this they were handicapped by lack of an adequate naval base with the necessary resources. When the threat materialized, the Portuguese were able to crush it convincingly.

By these means Portugal accomplished what she had set out to achieve, possession of the sources of the spice trade and its diversion from the markets of the Levant to those of Western Europe. The organization of this traffic was essentially medieval; its basis was not territorial conquest but the maintenance of a string of factories which recall the *fonduks* of the Genoese on the coasts of the Black Sea. The trade itself was conceived as a royal monopoly, another somewhat medieval idea, which was exercised by officials who were servants of the king rather than merchants operating on their own account. This cumbrous system, difficult to control and offering openings for dubious transactions, was at a disadvantage in competing with the more skilled and commercially minded Dutch. But, what was of more consequence, its inefficient working deprived the Crown of full financial reward, until the profits were largely swallowed up by the expenses of the *Estado da India*.

The reasons for the decline of Portuguese power have been much debated but the seeds were present almost from the first: the constant demand for manpower from a small country also engaged in costly enterprises in Africa and Brazil; the strain of controlling the Indian coasts in order to enforce their trade monopoly; the cumbrous administration, and the spread of Islam through the Indonesian islands. In addition the Portuguese had to ward off the Turks in the Indian Ocean and the Spanish assaults on the Moluccas. Then, when these strains had taxed their strength, they had to meet the powerful assaults of the Dutch, the rising power of the seventeenth century, animated by a strong and ruthless national spirit, and disposing of a technically superior fleet. With their improved navigational methods, the Dutch were able to sail direct from Java via the Sunda Strait to the Cape of Good Hope, the strategic position of which they were the first fully to appreciate; in

this way they were able to cut out delays at Goa, and to reduce the time taken on the voyage to Europe.

In view of the cumulative effect of these trends, it seems unnecessary to invoke miscegenation and the decline of Portuguese morale under tropical conditions as the prime factor in the deterioration of their position. They were certainly more successful in adapting their way of life to tropical conditions than other Europeans, and the attitude which prompted the formation of the *mestico* class in Goa was undoubtedly more sympathetic than the approach of the Dutch. The simple explanation is surely the vast scale of the enterprise, which overstretched the resources of a country whose home population did not exceed two and a quarter million in the two centuries of its prime. On such a basis it proved impossible to maintain a claim to the exclusive sovereignty over the waters of a hemisphere.

For the first half of the sixteenth century, nevertheless, Portugal gained from the East a remarkable accretion of national wealth, the public revenues of John III being three times those of Manuel. Much of the wealth was lavished on ostentatious display and ceremony, typified by the heavy and elaborate Manueline style of decoration, seen at its most characteristic at Batalha, that impressive monument to the men of the Discoveries. If these themes were in fact inspired by Indian motifs, this, in Professor Pevsner's words, 'is the first instance in Western history of non-European influence on European architecture'. This cultural flowering contributed to the building-up of national pride and self-confidence, and of the feeling of distinctness from Spain. It was not, however, to be long-lived, being cut short by the decline of the national economy and the political union with Spain. The costs of securing the eastern monopoly—fleets, overseas establishments, administration—were high, but in addition Portugal had to wage a losing battle in the European market. The wealth of the New World and the Indies had intensified the mercantile system of rigid governmental control in the interests of a regulated balance of trade and a surplus of bullion in the national treasury. For Portugal this flourished so long as a near-complete monopoly could be maintained, not only in the securing of the commodities in the East, but also in the marketing in Western Europe. The main centre for their distribution was for most of the period at Antwerp, where the Flemish and German

merchant bankers were all-powerful; their grip on the market steadily increased while the profits accruing to Portugal as steadily declined. The position of the bankers was further strengthened since they were also the providers of many of the supplies required for the overseas settlements.

When the centre was removed from Antwerp to Lisbon in 1549 the main channel for distribution still ran to the northern port, the chief effect being to add further dues and charges to the Lisbon prices. In such a highly competitive market, there was scope for considerable manœuvring, a contest in which the Portuguese lacked the expertise to outwit their financial rivals. The general result was that the fleets of Portugal, which had blazed the way to the East and re-orientated and expanded trade with Europe, became little more than carriers for the new-style merchant-financiers of Europe. In 1569 the crisis came to a head when Sebastian was unable to meet his bills and was obliged to suspend payment at Antwerp. This bankruptcy taken together with the military defeat in North Africa marked the decline of the golden age for Portugal, and the process was accelerated by the destruction of her trade monopoly in the East by the Dutch. Ironically, for Venice, the main European beneficiary of eastern trade before 1500, the decline was not as catastrophic as her citizens had at first feared, since a portion still reached the Levant, where she retained a footing. The new situation, however, necessitated seeking the bulk of this trade elsewhere, in the western European market, where she was in competition with many nations. Throughout the sixteenth century the commerce of Europe as a whole increased steadily, but those who profited most from this were the maritime nations of the West. It was relative to this change in the *status quo* that the share of Venice, no longer the wielder of a monopoly, gradually declined.

In the Indian Ocean the main result of Portuguese incursions was to deny that region to Turkish expansion and to diminish its commercial relations with the Turco-Arab world; and by so doing to contribute to the decline of Turkish power. The Portuguese presence also assisted the regeneration of Persia in the sixteenth century and indirectly led to the rise of the Mogul empire in northern India. In the south of the sub-continent, since the Portuguese never seriously considered expansion inland, they did little to change the political situation, except in so far as their opposition to

the southward advance of the 'Moors' assisted the kingdom of Vijayanagar to prolong its independence. The most notable monument to their rule was probably the Goanese and Christian communities of southern India. The work, continued by Protestant missionaries from the eighteenth century onwards, was responsible for the modern province of Kerala having the greatest proportion of Christians in the Republic of India, and a higher standard of education than in any other province. In other respects the impact of the Portuguese on Indian culture was minimal, except in Ceylon.

On the opposite shores of the Indian Ocean also, the Portuguese checked Arab expansion southwards by their destruction of their petty states. It is conceivable that but for this a string of independent Arab sheikhdoms might have continued on the coast, as was the pattern in the Persian Gulf and southern Arabia. There was a revival of Arab influence in the eighteenth century, when the Sultanate of Zanzibar was founded, but by then the age of expansion had waned. A more positive result was the survival of the Coptic Christian kingdom of Ethiopia with Portuguese assistance.

East of Cape Cormorin, the basic position was not fundamentally altered by the advent of the Portuguese; the control of trade and profits simply passed into their hands from the Moslem rulers of Malacca, Achin and northern Java, and the Moluccas. The demand for spices and drugs stimulated competition among traders of all nationalities, and put increased pressure upon the primary producers, whose position deteriorated. To avoid the consequences of over-production of spices and cloves, there was a search for other commodities, and the Portuguese also stimulated the growth of regional trade between the archipelago, China and Japan. But since this was strictly controlled by the Chinese authorities, the profits did not accrue entirely to the Europeans.

At the same time, the Portuguese were not able to eliminate Moslem influence entirely so that, increasingly, raiding and piracy (in the eyes of the Portuguese) flourished. Nor were they in a position to check the progress of Islam. Except in the Molucca area, Catholic missionaries made little progress, and the sole successful resistance to the progress of Islam was maintained by the Hindu kingdom of Bali. In the neighbouring island of Java a revived Sultanate of Mataram unified the central area and the petty principalities of the north coast, and maintained its independence into the

Dutch period. At Macao, with the consent of the Chinese, Portugal kept a share in the trade, but its importance declined when the Dutch drove them from their other posts; with Japan their trade initially flourished until they were expelled in a savage reaction.

Their contribution to the sciences can only be summarised here. In general geography, it was the Portuguese explorer Magellan, sailing in the service of Spain, who initiated the practical demonstration of the sphericity of the earth, after his fellow countrymen had proved that the oceans of the southern hemisphere were navigable. Their circumnavigation of Africa finally demolished classical misconceptions about the extent of that continent, confirming nebulous reports that the Indian Ocean was accessible from the Atlantic. For the first time the East Indian archipelago, the source of the spice trade, was reached directly from western Europe by western navigators, and the island world of South-east Asia revealed to the cosmographers. By establishing more accurately the eastward extension of Asia, the Portuguese introduced a clearer conception of the distribution of the land masses on the earth's surface; contrary to what many had believed, they showed that these did not occupy the greater part of the earth's surface, but that five-sevenths was occupied by the oceans. The maritime era of world history had opened.

In regard to what is understood today as geography, it is first essential to understand how the sixteenth century used that term. A clear definition is given by João de Castro in a passage in his *Dialogue of Geography*: 'This is the true and perfect geography, which consists chiefly in demarcating the lands by the correlation of each of them with the heavens, in their proper width and length, and in this manner it is possible to represent in a brief chart and painting the whole world, and any part, province, kingdom, or district of it, with much accuracy, and the lands and islands which are newly discovered; even if they are many thousand leagues within that Ocean sea, they can be so well put on the chart in their proper places, that they can be fetched again and found without erring one point in their situation.'

In this more specialized sense of the term, Portugal had initiated the charting of the oceans and founded the sciences of navigation and hydrography. Her navigators, in seeking to round Africa, had evolved the technique of 'running down' the latitude, but their ultimate success was founded mainly on the accumulated knowledge

of the hydrography and meteorology of southern waters; their descriptions of the monsoons in the Indian Ocean were carefully studied by later navigators, and when they came into contact with experienced Arab pilots, who sailed mainly by the stars, they were stimulated to develop astronomical methods further. Another matter which they studied with care was the variation of the magnetic compass, that indispensable instrument for all seamen. As a result, their manuals and charts, not to mention their pilots, were eagerly sought after by seamen of other nations.

The first chart on which any details of da Gama's voyage were entered was the Cantino world map of 1502. This abandoned the Ptolemaic delineation of the Indian Ocean, and for the first time the Indian sub-continent appears in peninsular form, with the island of Ceylon relatively accurately placed. It is annotated with legends based on the first reports of the voyage and names of cities, including Calicut and Cambaya. The African coasts are represented with considerable accuracy, with the ports visited. It is possible that Arab charts may have been used for the northern section, for by the date of the map the Portuguese had not visited the Arabian coast; in Eric Axelson's opinion, the representation of Madagascar also was based on an Arab source. For southern India Arab or Malayan charts, or at least merchants' reports, must form the basis; Sumatra and a grossly exaggerated Malay peninsula are shown. The latter carries the names Malacca, Bar Singapur, and 'China Cochin'. This suggests, incidentally, that, from the first, the Portuguese goal was Malacca and the south-eastern islands. An important feature is the approximate accuracy of the longitude of the Chinese coast, an appreciable reduction of Ptolemy's figure. A few years later, Francisco Rodrigues, a pilot and cartographer, reported that he had examined a large map drawn by a Javanese, which delineated the East in some detail. He sent details to King Manuel: 'Your Highness can truly see where the Chinese and Gores come from, and the courses your ships must take to the Clove Islands, and where the gold mines lie, and the islands of Java and Banda, of nutmeg and maces, and the land of the King of Siam, and also the end of the navigation of the Chinese, the direction it takes, and how they do not navigate further.' Rodrigues accompanied the expedition which Albuquerque sent towards the Moluccas in 1512, when he compiled a series of charts of many of the islands and of a portion of the

China coast, possibly incorporating some details culled from the Javanese. This was the first direct representation of south-east Asia by a European. It was, however, some years before an improved representation appeared in world maps published in Europe. The great woodcut world map of the German scholar Martin Waldseemüller, though it has a reasonable representation of Africa, retains the Ptolemaic outline of southern Asia. Nine years later, however, his *Carta marina*, another large woodcut map, follows closely the outline of that by Nicholas Caveri, done in 1505.

Throughout the century, Portuguese chart-makers continued to improve and complete the map of southern and eastern Asia, extending their work to include the southern Japanese islands, and so provided models for Italian and Flemish cartographers. So it was that when Linschoten published his description of the East Indies in 1596 he accompanied it by maps based on the works of Luiz Teixeira and other Portuguese chart-makers; they were indispensable to the Dutch navigators.

The most renowned of these scientists was the mathematician, Pedro Nunez, the author of two notable treatises, published in 1537, which incorporated the experiences of pilots engaged with the problems of navigating on a globe. When, for instance, they embarked on long voyages over the high seas, they and the map-makers were confronted with the problem of representing on a flat chart courses which were in fact being run over a portion of a sphere. Unless this sphericity were taken into account, a constant bearing, or loxodrome, could not be drawn on the chart as a straight line, owing to the convergence of the meridians, a cause of much confusion to the pilot. Nunez showed that a loxodrome on a globe was a spiral which, if prolonged, circled nearer and nearer to the Pole, without ever reaching it. Whether he had arrived before his death at a solution, projecting the loxodrome on to a flat surface by employing 'waxing latitudes', is not certain; in any case, such a projection was used as early as about 1515, and it is probable that Gerhard Mercator knew of Nunez's work when in 1569 he designed the celebrated projection which overcame the difficulty.

In terrestrial magnetism, Nunez invented a 'shadow instrument' which in favourable circumstances allowed compass variation to be determined with considerable accuracy. This instrument was tried out, at royal command, by one of his most distinguished pupils,

João de Castro, Governor-General of India, on his voyage out in 1546. Castro, a keen observer of natural phenomena, also gained a reputation for his *roteiros*, or sailing directions, describing the route from Lisbon to Goa, and the coasts of the Red Sea. These were accompanied by *tavoas*, or small charts of harbours and anchorages, and profiles of stretches of the coastline, which assisted pilots in recognizing their landfalls—Castro's works, circulated in manuscript copies, were widely used among Portuguese pilots. Other manuals were translated into several European languages and thus contributed to the advance of navigation, especially in Holland and England: until these were available, the services of Portuguese and Spanish pilots were much sought after by their rivals, and some indeed were carried off by main force.

In chorography, or descriptive geography, the Portuguese contribution was less widely appreciated. There were good reasons for this in the circumstances of the times. Portuguese who served in the East compiled reports of great value on the newly revealed lands and their peoples, but these were prepared for the information and guidance of the Crown, which had an overriding interest in withholding them from general circulation. But for the persistency of the industrious and intelligent scholar, G. B. Ramusio, the most valuable of these, for instance the work of Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, would have lain unremarked in the Lisbon archives. In a short introduction to them in the first volume of his great collection, *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, 1550, he wrote of the difficulties he had experienced in obtaining the manuscripts. His copy of Pires's *Suma oriental*, for example, lacked 'all that part which towards the end deals with the Moluccas and the spices', the principal subject of interest. Similarly he was obliged to print an incomplete version of Duarte Barbosa.

It was through Ramusio also that Pigafetta's vivid description of the Indonesian islands secured wide circulation. By the close of the century the impact of the Portuguese achievement was beginning to weaken, and their interest in them to abate. This trend had already been noticed by Camoens, when he wrote: 'Worst of all is the fact that fortune has made us uncouth, so austere, so unpolished and remiss in things of the mind that many are scarcely interested that this should be so, or concern themselves at all in such matters.' This attitude spread when the country passed temporarily under the

Spanish Crown, the Inquisition restricted freedom of expression, and the position in India worsened. The role of interpreting the East to Europe passed to the Dutch. As in other fields, the Portuguese pioneered, while their successors reaped the rewards.

In the wider field of relations between the nations of the world, and in particular the attitude of Europeans to the peoples with whom they made contact, the first two centuries of expansion began inauspiciously. The first direct, large-scale, contacts made with the East and the early success in establishing control of the spice trade ministered to the self-confidence of Europe, with marked effect on interracial relations. In the early years the awe and wonder in which medieval man had held the East, deriving largely from Marco Polo's account of Cathay, gave place to something approaching contempt, or at least a conviction of the superiority of the peoples of Europe over those of other continents. This was due in part to the circumstance that the Portuguese incursion into the Indian Ocean carried with it the centuries-old hatred of Islam. Belief in the supremacy of their faith and in the righteousness of their cause also coloured the European's attitude towards the devotees of the Indian religions, and seemed to them justified by the comparative ease with which the Malabar princes had been defeated. The newcomers were soon disabused of the fancied resemblance to Catholic ceremonial, and came to regard these creeds as scandalous travesties. The caste system, especially as manifested in 'untouchability' and practices such as suttee, was also looked on with disgust. The early adventurers in fact found in the East much that they had expected to find. Even so reasonable a man as Edmund Scott described the East Indies as 'that rude and dangerous region', and the Javanese as proud but poor 'by reason that not one amongst a hundredth of them will work', much given to stealing, and possessing no political ability: 'they are very dull and blockish to mannage any affaires of a commonwealth'. Everything had been allowed to fall into the hands of the Chinese, who practised 'all kind of cosening and deceit'.

From narratives of this type, cosmographers in Europe obtained much support for received theories on the relations of man and nature—in particular, the contention that the characteristic qualities of men and states largely depended upon climate; that men living in hot climates, by reason of the excessive heat, lacked vigour, and were therefore indolent, self-indulgent and cowardly. Volatile and

imaginative, they yet wanted curiosity and enterprise. Great heat being held to be conducive to a high birth rate, these countries were heavily populated, and pressed grievously on natural resources. On the other hand, those who lived in colder climates possessed contrasting characteristics. The pages of Eastern travellers were eagerly scanned for supporting evidence, and from all this the belief grew that Europe was the most favoured continent, whose peoples, having learnt to exploit their own resources efficiently, had through their navigators and conquistadores carried the arts of civilization to less energetic and skilled peoples, thereby conferring upon them riches 'whereof the poor wretches never knew the want', as an English geographer Nathaniel Carpenter wrote in 1640. Those who argued in this way had the American and African continents chiefly in mind, but did not flinch from applying their theory also to Asia. It was argued that the Chinese were poor fighters and lacked scientific knowledge; and as late as the eighteenth century the theme recurred when it was promulgated that if 20,000 veterans from the Flanders campaigns were to be transported to the East, no Asian empire would be able to resist their assault.

This difference of opinion had an unexpected sequel, which serves to round off neatly the story of the early contacts of Europe with China. The work of the eighteenth-century Jesuit travellers and scientists continued to propagate the concept, much idealized, of China as a happy, justly governed, peaceful and rational society, in massive volumes such as Du Halde's *Description of the Empire of China and Chinese Tartary*, published in Paris in 1735, and translated into English three years later. Such volumes provided welcome ammunition for the *philosophes* of France in their debates on the French monarchy and its reformation. So wide-ranging were the contents of such volumes that it was possible to find in them support for a great variety of opinions, not all favourable to the Chinese.

In attempting to formulate a philosophical approach to government in his *Esprit des lois*, Montesquieu did not attempt a systematic treatise on China but numerous references to it are scattered throughout his somewhat ill-arranged and discursive work. In brief, he established four categories of government—democracy, aristocracy, monarchy and despotism—each activated by a particular principle; for example, virtue for democracy, moderation for a monarchy, and fear for a despotism. For an individual country, the

best policy to be pursued resulted from a combination of space (by which he mainly understood climate and soil), time and tradition. Developing the theories of Jean Bodin and other early students of politics, he deduced the qualities of the inhabitants from the climate; people are 'more vigorous in cold climates . . . This superiority of strength must produce various effects; for instance a greater boldness, that is, more courage; a greater sense of superiority, that is, less desire for revenge; a greater opinion of security, that is, more frankness, less suspicion, policy and cunning'. Contrary characteristics were displayed by peoples of hot countries. The consequent variety of needs in each climate produces different ways of life, and each requires its particular laws. Republics cannot exist except in small territories, and monarchies in those of moderate extent. An extensive state can only be governed by a despot, ready to act swiftly and on his own authority to keep the governors of distant provinces under control; he must be prepared to modify the laws unilaterally, according to the accidents which incessantly multiply in a state in proportion to its extent.

The climate of China was 'exceedingly hot', consequently the people were by nature indolent. The aim of their laws therefore must be to ensure that everyone worked hard in the fields, for the vast population was entirely dependent upon the fruits of agriculture. Montesquieu commended the early dynasties for their agricultural improvements and their encouragement of the peasants; the Emperors 'had raised from beneath the waters two of the finest provinces of the empire [Kiang-nan and Tsekiang]; these owe their existence to the labours of men', and elaborate rites were designed to honour the peasants in every way. This application to agriculture was especially necessary in a hot climate, for that is 'surprisingly favourable to the propagation of the human species'. As the land was barely capable of supporting this population, it was essential that the laws should prevent the diversion of labour to the arts of luxury and pleasure. The precarious position of the common people inspired them 'with a prodigious activity and such an excessive desire of gain, that no nation can confide in them. This acknowledged infidelity has secured them the possession of the trade to Japan'.

In accord with his general conservative standpoint and his belief in the gradual decay of institutions, Montesquieu found the early

emperors worthy of praise for 'their virtue, attention, and vigilance', but he considered that there had been a sad decline later: 'Corruption, luxury, indolence and pleasure possessed their successors; they shut themselves up in a palace; their understanding was impaired; their life was shortened; the family declined; the grandees rose up; the eunuchs gained credit; none but children were set on the throne; the palace was at variance with the empire; a lazy set of people that dwelt there ruined the industrious part of the nation; the emperor was killed or destroyed by a usurper . . .' and the process started all over again.

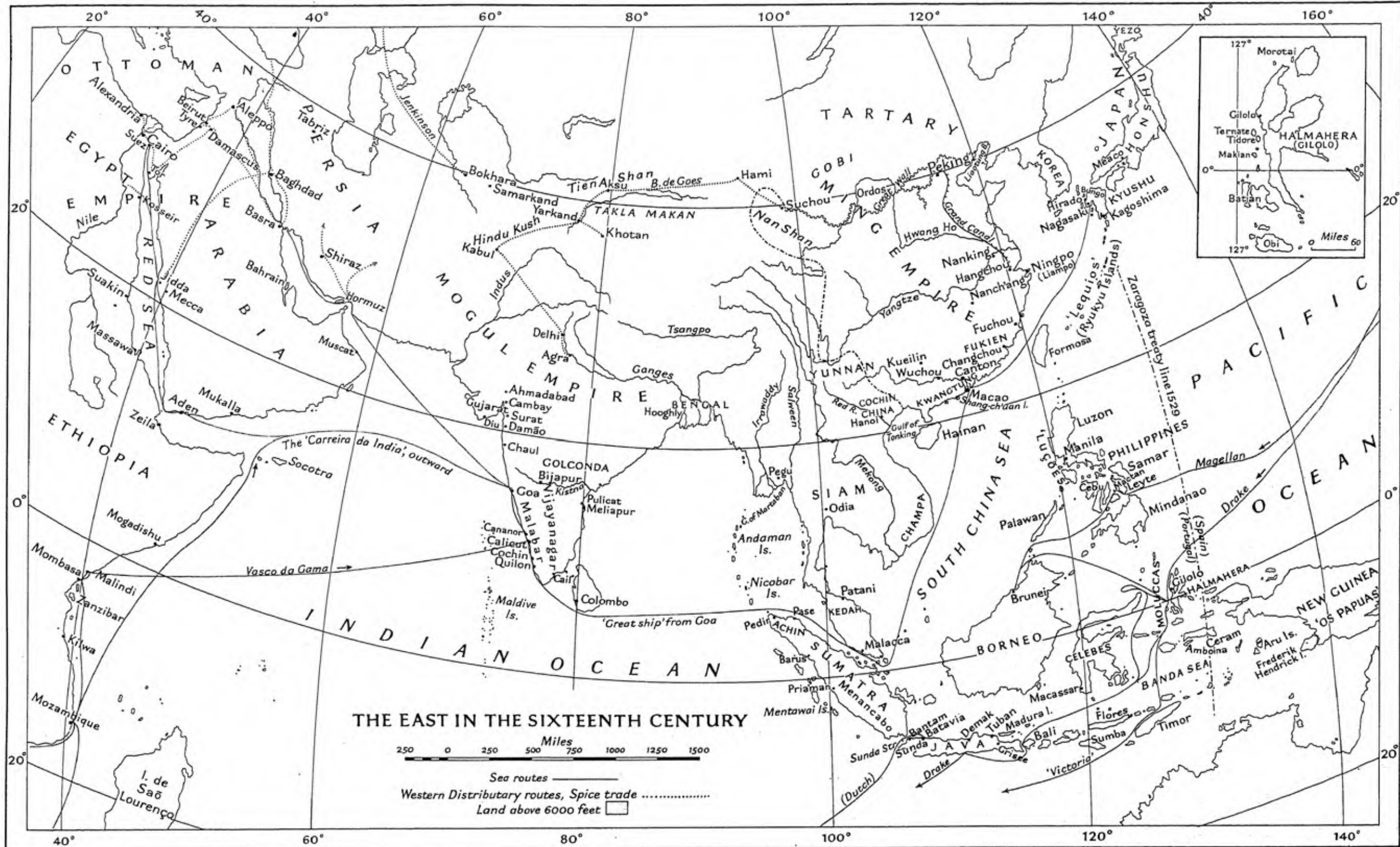
Montesquieu was especially critical of the compounding of religion, manners, laws and customs into one system, arguing that manners and customs lay outside the field of legislators. This union meant that no change in one sector could be effected without involving the others. When all were strictly observed, China was well governed; but when morality declined, the state fell into anarchy. He acutely noted that one consequence of this unified, Confucian, system was that it was almost impossible to convert China to Christianity. The laws of China are not destroyed by conquest; when a country is overrun 'either the conqueror or the conquered must change—in China it has always been the conqueror'.

Summing everything up, he concluded that, contrary to the opinions generally held, the Empire of China was a cruel, corrupt despotism. 'Our missionaries inform us that the government of the vast Empire of China is admirable, and that it has a proper mixture of fear, honour, and virtue . . . But I cannot conceive what this honour can be among a people who act only through the fear of being bastinadoed.' In support it was easy for him to extract instances of tyranny, barbarity and extortion from the narratives of other travellers, but his main attack was levelled at the attitude of the Jesuits. 'Might not our missionaries have been deceived by the appearance of order? Might they not have been struck by that constant exercise of a single person's will—an exercise by which they themselves are governed, and which they are so pleased to find in the courts of the Indian princes; because as they go thither only in order to introduce great changes, it is much easier to persuade those princes that there are no bounds to their power, than to convince the people that there are none to their submission.' The Chinese had made laws reign in conjunction with despotic power,

but 'whatever is joined to the latter loses all its force; this arbitrary sway . . . armed itself with its chains, and has become still more terrible'.

Nevertheless, it is apparent that Montesquieu was thinking much less of the empire of China than of contemporary France; the arbitrary conduct of the French court, the growing hostility to the Jesuits, and his advocacy of the separation of powers. Underlying all was his aversion to the trend in European politics towards 'enlightened despotism'.

But, despite the popularity of the *Esprit des lois*, Europe continued to admire China and its culture until the end of the eighteenth century. This was due in large measure to Voltaire and the French *physiocrats*, delighted to learn of a country where, on the face of it, the government was conducted by scholars on a philosophical basis. Judging from the topics treated, the sections in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* dealing with China were specifically designed to answer the criticisms advanced in the *Esprit des lois*. His approach is somewhat whimsical at times: 'We go to seek land in China, as if we had none; cloths, as if we lacked cloth; a little herb to infuse in water, as if there were no simples in our own country'—but otherwise he accepted the Jesuits as allies in his war on royal privilege and corruption; 'It is not necessary to be fanatical about Chinese merit; the constitution of their empire is the best in the world, the sole which is entirely founded on paternal power (which does not prevent the mandarins giving strokes of the rod to their children); the only one in which a provincial governor is punished when on leaving office he is not acclaimed by his people; the only one which has instituted prizes for virtue, while almost everywhere limiting laws to the punishment of crime; the only one which has compelled its conquerors to adopt its laws, while we are still subject to the customs of the Burgundians, Franks and Goths, which were forced upon us.' In a later edition, he was even more enthusiastic about the Confucian system: 'Once more, the religion of the *literati* is admirable. No superstitions, no absurd legends; none of those dogmas which insult reason and nature . . . The simplest cult has appeared to them the best, for more than forty centuries.' As for the diatribes against the traders, 'the common people buy cheap and sell dear, as with us; in the sciences the Chinese are where we were two centuries ago. Like us, they have a thousand ridiculous prejudices,





believe in talismen and judicial astrology, as we have for long believed'. In essence, his advice was: 'Allow the Chinese and the Indians to enjoy in peace their fine climate and their antiquity. Above all let us cease calling the Emperor of China and the Soubab of the Deccan idolators.'

In the circumstances of the times such conflicts of opinion could not but be inconclusive. Though his general theory of the relation of climate to government and his criticisms of the government of the Empire did not receive wide support, it was Montesquieu who displayed the keener insight into fundamental factors in Chinese history, by his recognition of the role played by invaders from the harsher lands of interior Asia, and of the degree to which these conquerors took over the age-old governmental structure. In his insistence on the manner in which the whole structure, political, social and cultural, of the Empire hung together—'China is the place where the customs of the country can never be changed'—he was to be astonishingly vindicated by the complete collapse of the Empire in the early decades of the twentieth century in the face of external political, economic and intellectual forces. Only slowly, and painfully, is an indigenous solution now being forged to replace the China of tradition.



That Portugal succeeded, with surprising speed, in her immediate object, the seizure of the eastern trade, was a remarkable achievement for a country of her size and limited resources. Fundamentally it was made possible by the spirit of aggressive determination which inspired the pioneers, and by the ability of their leaders to 'think big': when other monarchs were planning a crossing of the Alps or a naval campaign in the Mediterranean, Kings John II and Manuel were thinking in terms of a hemisphere. With Portugal's increasing commitments in West Africa and especially Brazil, it is scarcely a matter of surprise that the maintenance of control of eastern commerce proved too heavy a task.

Although her position was founded upon, and partly maintained by, force, Portugal had been to a considerable extent, at least to the east of Malacca, a member of a mutually beneficial trading system, as was evidenced by the prosperity of Macao and the temporary success of the trade with Japan. For this among other reasons, the

Portuguese were often more acceptable to eastern peoples than their successors proved to be. The arrival of the Dutch, English and French gave a new turn to the history of the East, which was now drawn into the field of European politics and wars. Political and economic rivalries led to territorial aggrandizement with the aim of controlling not merely maritime commerce, but of exploiting the natural and human resources, directly. The era of plantations and mines which followed endured until the middle of the twentieth century, leaving the newly independent countries faced with all the problems of development in a highly competitive world.

From the Asian point of view, China and Japan had resisted the strenuous attempts to forge economic and cultural links with the West. The more accurate knowledge to which the Jesuits introduced them, failed to break down the traditional attitude of indifference to the outside world; indeed, the general conduct of foreigners ultimately strengthened this attitude. Perhaps for China the most useful result of these contacts was the introduction of certain crops, sweet potatoes and maize especially, for during the seventeenth century the Empire had to meet a marked growth in population. Nothing illustrates this persistent conservatism more strikingly than the Ch'ien Lung Emperor's reply to Lord Macartney's request for a trade treaty, two hundred and fifty years after the first European envoy had landed at Canton: 'Swaying the wide world, I have but one aim in view, namely, to maintain a perfect government and to fulfil the duties of the state . . . My capital is the hub and centre about which all quarters of the globe revolve . . . As your Ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set no value on objects strange or ingenious, and have no use for your country's manufactures . . . Ever since the beginnings of history, sage Emperors and wise rulers have bestowed on China a moral system and inculcated a code, which from time immemorial has been religiously observed by the myriads of my subjects. There has been no hankering after heterodox doctrines.'

APPENDIX

The first sighting of Australia?

THOUGH THE history of the discovery of Australia is outside the scope of this book, some reference to it is appropriate, for Barros's report on the voyages of Pacheco and Mendonca touches on the fringe of the controversy over a possible discovery of the continent before the 'official' sighting by the Dutch. Pacheco's statement on the location of the island of gold was purely hearsay, originating in what must be regarded as an interested quarter; the description could apply to many islands, New Guinea, for instance, and the argument that he was lost while seeking it is no more than conjecture. As for Mendonca's objective, assuming that his voyage was continued, 'the isles of gold across the island of Sumatra' scarcely suggests the west coast of Australia. As for the Indian story, the fame of Barus and its gold was well known in India for it was much frequented by Gujerati merchants. Tomé Pires also tells us that the local dealers in gold were at pains to suppress all details of its production, and to keep control strictly in their own hands. This all suggests that they were interested in diverting attention from their own source to mythical islands far out in the ocean. As Columbus found in the West Indies, the islands of gold were always 'further on'! To question the authenticity of a voyage by Mendonca, however, does not rule out the possibility that a Portuguese navigator had sighted a portion of the Australian coastline.

One basis for this belief is a type of map drawn by the Dieppe school of cartographers between the years 1540 and 1566, of whom Jean Rotz is the best known. These show a great land, 'Java la Grande', lying south of Java, which is held by some students to represent the continent of Australia. Since the names are in corrupt Portuguese, it is argued that Rotz was using charts resulting from a Portuguese voyage, or voyages, of discovery. Those who dissent from this conclusion assert that 'Java la Grande' is based on the

concept of a large hypothetical southern continent, derived from Marco Polo's land of Locach, which was popularized by sixteenth-century cartographers, and that Rotz's delineation is too badly misplaced in longitude to be Australia. The arguments for and against are complex and not easy to summarize briefly. The case against the identification was strongly argued by G. A. Wood in *The discovery of Australia* (Melbourne, repr. 1969). The argument for the identification with Australia and for early discovery by the Portuguese has been stated recently by O. H. K. Spate in an essay, 'Terra Australis—cognita', in his *Let me enjoy* (1966, pp. 267-95).

A recent writer, Andrew Sharp, has put forward an explanation which rejects the theory that 'Java la Grande' is based on knowledge of Australia (*Discovery of Australia*, 1963). He reached the conclusion that basically the map was put together from Portuguese sectional charts of Indonesian islands by a cartographer whose main object was to give substance to Marco Polo's misinterpreted data, in the shape of a great southern continent. On this interpretation, the outline of the 'continent' is formed by the western coast of Java, prolonged indefinitely southwards, while the eastern coast is a combination of the eastern coasts of Sembawa and Soemba. This is an ingenious and attractive theory, which receives support from a similar resemblance, which has not, so far as I am aware, been pointed out. The prominent peninsula on the east coast of 'Java la Grande' has hitherto puzzled commentators; if, however, the map is turned through 180 degrees, this peninsula bears a striking resemblance to the outline of Frederik Hendrik Island and the adjacent coastline of south-west New Guinea. If this is accepted, it may be concluded that, among the charts which the cartographer used in compiling this map, was one based on a Portuguese voyage along the south-west coast of New Guinea before 1530. This would then suggest the further step, that, if the coast of New Guinea had been sighted in this area, then it is not impossible that the north-east, not the west, coast of Australia had also been seen. The problem of a possible discovery of Australia by a Portuguese captain therefore remains open.

FURTHER READING

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It appears by the difference of French Goals
as placed in France 15 1/2 that the goal here
was the mid part of America and the rest of the
which hath been already fit and as a whole
and is aimed in mid map the length of 1000
about 1200 leagues wide of the latitude of 40. And
that the distance between Cape Mendocino and
Cape California which may be made 1000
may be 1200 or 1300 leagues in French measure

I have had here quite another hydrographical description of the world which
being lately discovered and is agreed to by the learned, which we have in full part performed
All places larger for towns, towns the great numbers and distances that they had in the old map
in that of the latitude and longitude which they have in this chart which by the ordinary
chart can be well performed. The way to find the position of cities from any place
other than the latitude and longitude found that which is called in the hydrographical
chart. But before the distance of both places know the true latitude for how many leagues
the meridian takes to that latitude are contained between the true places for to find the
distance of the distance. If they differ in latitude for how many leagues of the meridian
distance about the world of that distance are contained between them and for many
leagues is the distance

true believers no longer retained any possessions in that land.

To this account I must further add, that the "*Tárikh Andalus*" is enriched with admirable poetry, and men of erudition regard it altogether as a most excellent and valuable work.

Now, among the most highly esteemed and extensive works on general history that have been composed in the Persian language, the "*Rauzet al Safá*"⁵⁷ seems entitled to the first place. This celebrated chronicle is, in some parts, minute and prolix; in others, brief and concise, written after the manner of an epitome or compendium. It must, however, be remarked, that the author has been chiefly copious in such portions of his "*Rauzet al Safá*" as record the history of those sovereigns who reigned over *Irán* and *Túrán* (or Persia and Turkomania).

Another Persian work of considerable extent is the "*Tárikh Alfí*,"⁵⁸ comprising the annals of

Works," p. 49) "The birth of JESUS (on whom be peace!) happened at *Naserak* (نَاصِرَة), and the first tribes that adopted the religious doctrine of that holy personage were the inhabitants of this village; therefore they were called *Nasá'ri* (Nazarenes); and, by degrees, this name has been given to all who profess the religion of JESUS."

⁵⁷ Already noticed in p. 4.

⁵⁸ تَارِخُ الْاَلْفِ or the "Chronicle of a Thousand Years," from the beginning of the Muhammedan era.

most nations that profess the Muselmán faith. But in this chronicle there are numerous defects; for instance, of some most important events no mention whatever has been made: thus the battle of *Kádesiah*,⁵⁹ which was one of the principal victories obtained by the true believers, and their wars with the barbarian or heathen Persians, are wholly omitted in the "*Táríkh Alf*;" and it would almost appear that this work had never undergone the author's revisal or correction.

Since it has been shown that voluminous chronicles, treating of general history, are in this manner imperfect and defective, it will be necessary, as the best means of acquiring information on the subject of each dynasty and of each monarch, to consult various works: thus, if our object be a full account of events which happened while the RÁSHÍDI KHALIFAHS⁶⁰ reigned, (may they all partake of the divine blessing!) we should

⁵⁹ قَادِيسِيَّة The victory obtained by the Muselmáns at *Kádesiah*: overthrew the Sassanian dynasty of Persian kings: this battle happened in the year of Christ 636. *Kádesiah* is described by SÁDIK ISFAHÁNI ("Geogr. Works," p. 118) as "a place in the vicinity of *Kúfah*." It is distant from this city fifteen parasangs or Persian leagues, in that part of Arabian *Irák* which was the ancient Chaldea. This decisive battle lasted three days.

⁶⁰ خُلَفَاءِ رَاشِدِينَ

examine the Arabic chronicles hereafter mentioned.

The great chronicle or "Tárikh of Tabri," the "Tárikh Ibn Athír," the "Tárikh Ibn Kethír,"⁶¹ and the "Tárikh Zahabi;"⁶² also the "Fatuhh of Ibn Aásim Kúfi,"⁶³ and the "Mustekesi,"⁶⁴—all these are in the Arabic language.

⁶¹ Respecting the three chronicles here mentioned, see pp. 13—17, 18.

⁶² ZAHABI—This writer, who was born in the year of Christ 1273, and died in 1347, composed a book entitled "The Meidán," (ميدان) and another (his principal work) the "Tárikh al Zahabi" or "Tarikh al Islám" تاريخ الاسلام comprised in twelve volumes. (See Hamaker's "Specimen Catalogi, &c." pp. 18, 19.)

⁶³ فتح ابن اعثم كوفي This ancient Muselmán writer (AÁSIM of Kúfa), and the Persian translator of his work, are thus noticed, under the title فتح in HÁJÍ KHALÍFÁH'S Bibliography, according to a MS. preserved in the British Museum—اعثم و هو محمد بن علي المعروف باعثم الكوفي وترجمته—AASIM—and this person is MUHAMMED BEN ALI, generally called AÁSIM AL KÚFI—and the translator (of his Chronicle) was AHMED BEN MUHAMMED ALMASTOWFI." But different copies (in Sir William Ouseley's Collection) name the author ABÚ MUHAMMED AHMED BEN AÁSIM AL KÚFI—ابو محمد احمد بن اعثم الكوفي—or simply AHMED BEN AÁSIM AL KÚFI—احمد بن اعثم الكوفي. The translation from Arabic into Persian appears to have

Among Persian historians we must consult, respecting those monarchs (the RÁSHÍDÍ KHALÍFAHS), the "Rauzet al Ahbáb,"⁶⁵ the "Rauzet al Safá," the "Tárikh Alfí," the Tarjumah, or translation of IBN AĀSIM's work the "Fatuhh" before noticed,⁶⁶ and the chronicle entitled the "Mukessed al Aksi fī Tarjumah al Mustekesi."⁶⁷ These works, here named, will afford sufficient information concerning those illustrious Khalífahs.

And if the reigns of the BENI OMMIAH and the BENI ABBÁS families⁶⁸ be the object of our research, those Arabic works above mentioned will furnish ample accounts of them, except the "Tárikh Fatuhh" of AĀSIM KÚFÍ,⁶⁹ and the "Mustekesi," neither of which chronicles furnish any anecdotes of those dynasties; but on this subject

been made in the year 596 (or of Christ 1200). Although the "Book of Victories" ("Kitáb Fatuhh") has been ascribed by many to AĀSIM of Kúfah himself, Sir W. Ouseley is convinced that the author was AĀSIM's son.—See a letter respecting the tomb of Daniel at Susa, in Persia, published in the Rev. Mr. Walpole's "Collection of Travels," vol. ii. p. 428.

⁶⁴ ترجمه فتوح ابن اعثم ⁶⁵ روضة الاحياء ⁶⁶ مستقصى

⁶⁷ البقصد الاقصي في ترجمه المستقصى

⁶⁸ Of those illustrious dynasties. See the notes in pp. 5, 6, &c.

⁶⁹ Already mentioned in p. 24.

the Persian "Tárikh Alfí" may be consulted with advantage.

Should our object be the history of Iránian or Persian kings, we must again refer to the "Rauzet al Safá" and the "Tárikh Alfí," more particularly respecting such dynasties as the DÍÁLEMEH,⁷⁰ the SELÁJEKAH,⁷¹ the SÁMÁNÍÁN,⁷² GHAZNAVÍÁN,⁷³ and KHUÁREZM SHÁHÍÁN⁷⁴ monarchs,

⁷⁰ دِيَالِه An Arabic plural, denoting those princes whom the Persians call DÍLEMIÁN, or the DÍLEMITES, as some European writers style them. *Dílem* (دِيلِم) is a province bordering the Caspian Sea on the South.

⁷¹ سَلْجُوكَه SELÁJEKAH, the SELJÚKIANS, or SELGIUCIDES, as D'Herbelot calls them, were divided, according to that writer, into three branches—that of *Irán*, or Persia; of *Kirmán*; and of *Rám*. The two former began to reign about the year 429, (or of Christ 1037,) and ceased in 590 (that is, of the Christian era, 1193). The SELJÚKIANS of *Rám* began to reign in 480, and ceased in 700 (or from the year of Christ 1087 to 1300). See D'Herbelot in SELGIUKIAN.

⁷² سَامَانِيَان SAMÁNÍÁN. The nine princes of this dynasty, which began in the year 261 of the hejrah (or of Christ 874) and terminated in 383 (998), possessed, besides Transoxiann, most of those provinces which now constitute the Persian empire. They are styled SAMANIDES by many European writers.

⁷³ غزنويان or GHAZNEVIDES, as they are called by D'Herbelot, (GHAZNAVIAH in Arabic,) a dynasty comprehending fourteen princes, who reigned in Persia and India from the year

of whom the "Tárikh Kámel" of IBN ATHÍR, already quoted, gives copious and detailed accounts.

Those who desire to peruse a circumstantial history of the SAFEVÍAH,⁷⁵ or last race of the Persian kings, may derive satisfactory information from the "Habíb al Siyar," before mentioned, in which is comprised, with various other records, an account of SHÁH ISMÁÍL⁷⁶ deduced nearly to the time of his death.

On the subject also of this sovereign and of his son SHÁH TAHMÁSIP,⁷⁷ many anecdotes may be collected from the work entitled "Ahassan al Tuárikh,"⁷⁸ composed by HASAN BEIG RÚMLÚ.⁷⁹

384 or 387 (of Christ 994 or 997) until the year 539 or 542 (of the Christian era 1144 or 1147).

⁷⁴ خوارزمشاهیان KHUÁREZM SHÁHIÁN. Of this powerful dynasty, which began A. H. 491, and lasted until 628, (or of the Christian era 1097 to 1230,) D'Herbelot enumerates nine sovereigns.

⁷⁵ صفویه The *Safevi* or *Sefevi* dynasty, styled *Sofi* or *Sophy* by some European authors. The kings of this race governed Persia from the year 1509 till about 1736, when they were overthrown by the usurper NÁDIR SHÁH.

⁷⁶ شاه اسماعیل ⁷⁷ شاه طهماسب

⁷⁸ أحسن التواريخ A rare and valuable work, thus described by Sir W. Ouseley in the Catalogue of his Oriental MSS. (No. 346) as the work of "HASAN RÚMLÚ, grandson of EMÍR

Likewise from the "Tárikh Aálum Árá,"⁸⁰ which contains, besides the histories of those two monarchs above named, an account of events that occurred in Persia after the time of SHÁH TAHMASP,⁸¹ and when the imperial standard of SHÁH ABBÁS,⁸² lately deceased, had been exalted, until the last days of that illustrious sovereign.

But the "Tárikh Aálum Árá" does not display much elegance of style; it is however a curious and useful chronicle, abounding with excellent information. I have not seen any other work that particularly relates to the SEFEVI transactions since the time of SHÁH ABBÁS.

And TÁHER WAHÍD,⁸³ author of a chronicle entitled the "Tárikh" or History of SHÁH ABBÁS THÁNI⁸⁴ (or the Second), has furnished little more than a specimen of pleasing style, contenting himself with the mention of only some few im-

SULTÁN RÚMLÚ; (containing) the History of SHÁH ISMÁÍL and his son SHÁH TAHMASP, with notices of the sovereigns of RÚMIEH, the princes of JAGHATÁI, khans of the *Uzbeks*, learned men, vazírs, &c. that flourished in their times, from A. H. 900 (1494) to 985 (1577). A most curious and useful work, not only in history but geography, mentioning various places, rivers, mountains, castles, &c. little known. I have never seen another copy of this Chronicle."

⁷⁹ شاه طهماسب ⁸⁰ تاریخ عالم ارا ⁸¹ حسن بیگ روملو

⁸² تاریخ شاه عباس ثانی ⁸³ طاهر وحید ⁸⁴ شاه عباس

portant occurrences, and not paying much attention to chronological dates in noticing the particular month or year.

If our intention be to make researches concerning the history of those sovereigns who ruled in Arabia and Africa, we may consult the Arabic chronicles already mentioned; also the book entitled “*Al ákud al ’úlúfet fí Táríkh ad’dowlet al resúlút* ;”⁸⁵ also the “*Beghíet al musteffid fí akh-bár medínah Zabíd* :”⁸⁶ these two works relate to the history of *Yemen* (or Arabia Felix).

But the “*Kitáb al mukaffí al Makrízi*”⁸⁷ is a history of *Misr* (or Egypt). MUSTAFA EFENDI⁸⁸ likewise, in his “*Táríkh*,” which comprises a general account of different Muselmán dynasties, has included those kings who reigned in Egypt.

And on the subject of those two holy cities, *Mekkah Maazmeh*⁸⁹ and *Medínah Makarremeh*,⁹⁰

⁸⁵ العقود اللولية في تاريخ الدولة الرسولية

⁸⁶ بغية المستفيد في اخبار مدينة زبيد

⁸⁷ كتاب البقي القرزي See the note on MAKRIZI in p. 20.

⁸⁸ أفندي مصطفى or, perhaps, MUSTAFA AKTEDI (أفندي) the last word being very ambiguously written.

⁸⁹ مكة معظمه or *Mekkah* the highly honoured, or the great.

⁹⁰ مدينة مكرمه—the venerable or revered city.

different writers have composed a multiplicity of volumes.

Now, respecting the kings of *Rím*,⁹¹ who departed from this world before the family of OTHMÁN⁹² assumed the government, I have never seen any particular book containing a detailed account. The annals, however, of this OTHMAN race have been written on an extensive plan; but works containing records of that family are extremely scarce in India. Among them may be noticed the chronicle or "Tárikh" entitled "Hesht Behisht,"⁹³ composed by MULLÁ EDRÍS ANDALÍSÍ.⁹⁴ This book I have examined; it contains a detailed account of eight sovereigns of the OTHMAN dynasty, beginning with OTHMÁN BEIG

⁹¹ روم By this name is here understood a great portion of those provinces which now constitute the Turkish empire westward of Persia; it has often a signification much more extensive.

⁹² عثمان This name is frequently pronounced OSMÁN.

⁹³ هشتم بهشت In the Catalogue of Sir William Ouseley's Oriental MSS. (No. 900), the "Tárikh Hesht Behisht" is described as a most valuable work on Turkish history, by BEDLÍSÍ. The name of this work implies the *Eight Paradises*.

⁹⁴ ملا ادریس اندلیسی or rather BEDLÍSÍ. See the note immediately preceding.

GHÁZÍ,⁹⁵ and ending with ILDERIM BÂIAZÍD THÁ-NÍ ⁹⁶ (or the Second).

Another work, also, we may consult for information respecting the OTHMÁN princes; I allude to the "Tárikh" or history of *Mekkah*,⁹⁷ written by MULLÁ KUTTUB AD' DÍN HANEFI,⁹⁸ a chronicle which brings down the records of that dynasty to nearly the year one thousand of the hejrah,⁹⁹ and is not by any means of rare occurrence in this country (India).

Likewise MUSTAFA EFENDI,¹⁰⁰ in his chronicle, has given a history of the OTHMÁN family until the year one thousand of the same era,¹⁰¹ in the

تاریخ مکّه⁹⁷ ایلدرم بایزید ثانی⁹⁶ عثمان بیگ غازی⁹⁵

ملا قطب الدین حنفی⁹⁸ This must be the work quoted by

Burckhardt as "The History of the Mosque of *Mekka*, with which the history of the town is interwoven, called *El Aalam hy aalam beled Allah el haram*, in one volume quarto. The author was KOTTOB ED' DYN EL MEKKY, who held high offices at Mekka, and brings the history down to the year 990 of the hedjra." See Burckhardt's "Travels in Arabia" (Author's Introduction, p. xiv).

⁹⁹ Or of the Christian era 1591; but the more exact date, mentioned by Burckhardt in the note immediately preceding (A. H. 990), corresponds to the year of Christ 1582.

¹⁰⁰ See the note in page 29.

¹⁰¹ Or of Christ 1591.

manner partly of a detailed narrative, and partly of an abridgment or summary.

Of the MOGHUL sovereigns¹ who have reigned in countries professing the religion of *Islám* (or the Muhammedan faith), illustrious princes, as well of the CHANGÍZIAN as of the GURKÁNIAN or TAIMÚRIAN branches,² the history of each dynasty is amply recorded in books that circulate not unfrequently among us (in India).

Thus the history of CHANGÍZ KHAN, and of his descendants, until the arrival of HULÁKÚ KHÁN³ in Persia, has been composed by KHUÁJEH ELLÁ AD' DÍN OTTÁ MULK JUÍNI,⁴ (the brother of KHUÁJEH SHAMS AD' DÍN MUHAMMED,⁵) in his chronicle entitled the "*Tárikh Jehán Kushái*."⁶

Next, as a sort of appendix or supplement to the "*Jehán Kushái*," I may here notice the "*Tárikh Wessáf*,"⁷ which copiously details the

¹ خواتینِ مغل

² چه طبقه نبیلہ چنگیزیه و چه فرقہ جلیلہ کورکانیہ تیموریہ

³ خواجہ علاء الدین عطا ملک جوینی ⁴ ہلاکو خان

⁵ تاریخ جہانکشاہ ⁶ خواجہ شمس الدین محمد

⁷ تاریخ و صاف by ABDULLAH SHÍRÁZÍ, as appears from

the full title of the work, written in a beautiful copy which the editor has examined:—تاریخ و صاف من تصنیف مولانا عبد-

اللہ شیرازی در ذکر سلطنت ہلاکو خان و چنگیز خان

history of HULÁKÚ KHÁN, from that monarch's first entrance into Persia until the time of SULTÁN ABÚ SÂÍD KHÁN.⁸

We may also find in the work named "Jamíá Rashídi,"⁹ very ample accounts, historical and genealogical, of CHANGÍZ KHÁN, his descendants, and the chief Moghul princes and nobles.

Respecting those KHÁNS of the CHANGÍZIAN family¹⁰ who reigned in the *Dasht i Kibchák*¹¹ and in *Máwer al nahr*,¹² I have never happened to see any distinct or particular work: their history, however, may be collected separately from various chronicles that record the affairs of several Persian kings.

The "Tárikh Rashídi," composed by MÍRZÁ HAIDER DÚGHLÁT GURKÁN,¹³ furnishes nothing more than a brief summary or compendious ac-

From this valuable MS. some curious extracts are given in Sir W. Ouseley's "Travels," vol. I. p. 170, &c.

خاندان چنگیزی¹⁰ جامع رشیدی⁹ سلطان ابو سعید خان⁸

¹¹ دشت قیچاق An extensive region northward of the Caspian Sea, inhabited by a race of Easterns, Turks, or Tatars. The extraordinary origin of this name is explained in SÁDIK ISFAHÁNI'S "Geographical Works," p. 1.

¹² Or Transoxiana. See the note on *Írán* and *Túrán*, p. 6.

¹³ This work, and its author, have been already mentioned in p. 9.

count of the sovereign KHÁNS of *Káshghar*; ¹⁴ and the work called "*Sahífeh Sháhi*," of which the author is MULLÁ TANISH BOKHÁRI, ¹⁵ is founded solely on the history of one among the princes who reigned in *Máwer al nahr*; namely, ABDALLAH KHÁN UZBEK. ¹⁶

But of those who ruled *Irán* and *Túrán* (or Persia and Turkomania), from the time when CHANGÍZ ceased to exercise imperial sway until the rising of that resplendent sun of prosperity, the conqueror of the world, SÁHIB KERÁN (TAIMÚR), very ample records may be found in the chronicle or "*Tárikh*" of HÁFIZ ÁBRÚ, ¹⁷ and in the "*Matliá As'sádein*" (or "*al Sádein*"); ¹⁸ also

¹⁴ خازان كاشغر

¹⁵ Before mentioned, in pp. 9, 10.

¹⁶ عبد الله خان اوزبك

¹⁷ تاريخ حافظ ابرو An excellent work, dated, according to a copy which the editor has examined, in the year of the hejirah 817 (or of Christ 1414). The author, HÁFIZ ÁBRÚ, died in the year 834 (1430); and as he had travelled in many parts of Asia, his geographical statements, which are numerous, seem well worthy of consideration.

¹⁸ مطلع السعدين This valuable work is entitled at full length in Sir William Ouseley's Catal. (No. 350) مطلع البحرين و مجمع السعدين—a name signifying the "Rising of the two fortunate planets (Jupiter and Venus), and the junction of the two seas," composed by ABD AL REZÁK,

in the "Rauzet al Safá," the "Habíb al Siyar," and in the "Tárikh Alfí."

Concerning the history of SÁHIB KERÁN, the illustrious TAIMÚR, it is completely given in the book entitled "Zaffer Námeḥ,"¹⁹ written by MÚ-LÁNÁ SHERIF AD DÍN ÂLI YAZDÍ;²⁰ and it is further illustrated in different works; such as the "Matliá As'sádein" and the "Rauzet al Safá," and the "Habíb al Siyar," above mentioned.

The history also of TAIMÚR's renowned descendants until the time when SULTÁN HUSEIN²¹ assumed the government of *Khurásán*,²² and placed himself on the throne of *Herát*,²³ is distinctly related in the "Matliá As'sádein," and the "Rauzet al Safá," both works already noticed.

Likewise the author of the "Habíb al Siyar" has not only detailed at full length the account of SULTÁN HUSEIN, considerably amplifying the anecdotes given in those chronicles before quoted, but has traced the history of the descendants

of *Samarḳand*, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century—عبد الرزاق سمرقندي

¹⁹ ظفر نامه or the "Book of Victory," very ingeniously and accurately translated into French by M. Petis de la Croix.

سُلطان حسین²¹ مولانا شرف الدین علی یزدی²⁰

هرات²³ خراسان²²

of SULTÁN SÂÍD ABÚ SÂÍD MÍRZÁ,²⁴ and also the history of that monarch who now reposes in Paradise, BÁBER PÁDSHÁH,²⁵ until the year nine hundred and thirty of the Muhammedan era.²⁶

Besides this, I have seen the work entitled WÁKIÂT BÁBERI,²⁷ in which that royal commentator himself, SULTÁN BÁBER,²⁸ has written a minute account, relating the transactions of his own reign.

In the work called "Tárikh Jauher Aftábchi,"²⁹ we find commemorated the history of that great monarch HUMÁIÚN PÁDSHÁH,³⁰ whose residence is now in heaven: but of this composition the

²⁴ سلطان سعيد ابو سعيد ميرزا

بابر پادشاه²⁵

²⁶ Corresponding to the year 1523 of the Christian era.

²⁷ واقعات بابري Of this curious work an excellent translation (into English) has been made by two gentlemen, noticed in the additions to this Essay.

²⁸ سلطان بابر

²⁹ تاريخ جوهر افتابي This must be the same as the "Memoirs of HUMÁIÚN," translated by Major Stewart, from the Persian of JAUHER AFTÁBCHI, and published by the Oriental Translation Committee. Major Stewart entitles the MS. work from which he made his translation the *Tezkerreh el Vakiat*, or "Relation of Occurrences." *Aftábchi* signifies the person who holds the ewer or water-jug to his master for the purposes of ablution.

³⁰ همايون پادشاه

style is too familiar and undignified. Respecting however the chief transactions of HUMÁIÚN's reign, we must seek information from the "Akber Námeb,"³¹ of the learned SHEIKH ÁBÚL FAZL,³² also from the "Ikbál Námeb,"³³ a work composed by SHERÍF MUATAMED KHÁN,³⁴ in which events are recorded at considerable length.

But of that illustrious emperor, the mighty AKBER PÁDSHÁH,³⁵ whose throne is in Paradise, the history has been written in various chronicles, each of them recording particular facts and circumstances which the others do not relate. Among the largest and most esteemed of those chronicles that celebrate his glorious career, are the "Akber Námeb," of SHEIKH ÁBÚL FAZL, above mentioned, who has minutely detailed, each in its proper place, the events that occurred during the forty-six years of AKBER's government; and of the remaining four years, SHEIKH ENÁJET UL-LAH³⁶ has given an account in his work entitled the "Tekmileh Akber Námeb;"³⁷ while the SHERÍF MUATAMED KHÁN, in the "Ikbál Ná-

³¹ اكبر نامه ³² شيخ ابو الفضل ³³ اقبال نامه

³⁴ شريف معتد خان ³⁵ اكبر پادشاه ³⁶ شيخ عنايت الله

³⁷ تكملة اكبر نامه A name signifying the completion or perfection of the "Akber Námeb," or, as it may be styled, the supplement to that work.

meh" already mentioned, commemorates the transactions of AKBER's whole reign, which lasted fifty years.

The "Tabkát Akberi"³⁸ also contains an account of that monarch's reign as far as the fortieth year; so likewise the "Tárikh" of MULLA ABD AL KÁDER BEDÁÚNÍ.³⁹

Besides those chronicles, the "Tárikh Alfí," and the "Tárikh" of FERISHTAH,⁴⁰ and se-

³⁸ طبقات اكبرى In an original MS. Catalogue, compiled by an English gentleman in Bengal many years ago, and now in the Editor's possession, the following account of this work occurs—"Tabkát Akberi," composed by NIZÁM AD'DÍN AHMED OF HERÁT (نظام الدين احمد هروي) in two volumes—the first containing a history of the conquerors of India from SURUCTAGI (سبكتگي) to MOEZ AD'DÍN (معز الدين) and of the kings of *Dehli* from MOEZ AD'DÍN to AKBAR: and in the second volume an account of the former Sultáns of countries which had since been subdued by kings of *Dehli*; viz. of *Dekkan*, from the year 648 (of the hejira) to 1002 (or of Christ from 1260 to 1593); of *Gujerát* from the year 793 to 980 (or of Christ 1390 to 1572); of *Bengál* from 741 to 928 (1340 to 1521); of *Málwah* for 158 years; of *Javánpúr* for 97 years; of *Sind* for 236 years; of *Multán* for 245 years; and of *Kashmír* for 80 years.

³⁹ تاريخ ملا عبد القادر بدائني

⁴⁰ تاريخ فرشته An excellent translation of this valuable work has lately been published by Lieut.-Colonel Briggs, in

veral other works, furnish anecdotes illustrating different portions of that victorious emperor's history.

Now concerning the affairs of his majesty, who at present resides in heaven, the illustrious sovereign JEHÁNGÍR PÁDSHÁH,⁴¹ some information, but not much detailed, may be found in the second volume of SHERÍF MUATAMED KHÁN's work before mentioned, the "Ikbál Námeḥ;" also in the chronicle entitled "Másir Jehángíri,"⁴² which was composed by KHUÁJEH KÁMKÁR,⁴³ generally surnamed GHAIRET KHÁN,⁴⁴ nephew (by the brother's side) of ABDALLAH KHÁN FÍRÚZ JANG,⁴⁵ and this chronicle (the "Másir Jehángíri") resembles the "Ikbál Námeḥ" in its paucity of minute details.

Next may be noticed the "Jehángíri Námeḥ,"⁴⁶

4 vols. 8vo. There is also another English translation of "Férishtah," made several years ago by the late Colonel Dow.

خواجه كامكار⁴³ مآثر جهانگیري⁴² جهانگیر پادشاه⁴¹

عبد الله خان فیروز جنگ⁴⁵ غیرتخان⁴⁴

⁴⁶ جهانگیر نامه See the "Memoirs of the Emperor JAHANGUEIR, written by himself, and translated from a Persian Manuscript by Major David Price," Lond. 1829. A most amusing and interesting work, probably the same as one which belonged to the late Dr. Jonathan Scott, and styled in a Cata-

or history of JEHÁNGÍR, in which this great monarch himself has recorded the events of his reign; a work in every respect far preferable to the two above named (the "Ikbál Námeḥ" and "Másir Jehángíri"); but I have never seen a copy of the emperor's own work, that traces his history beyond the eighteenth year of his reign.

On the subject of that renowned and glorious sovereign the victorious SHÁH JEHÁN PÁDSHÁH,⁴⁷ a second SÁHIB KERÁN, (whose dwelling-place is now in heaven,) we must consult the chronicle entitled "Pádsháh Námeḥ,"⁴⁸ of which the first and second volumes were composed by MULLÁ ABD AL HAMÍD, of *Lahúr*, (or *Lahore*),⁴⁹ the third volume being a compilation made by MUHAMMED WÁRETH;⁵⁰ and this work (the "Pádsháh Námeḥ") is of considerable utility, because it details every circumstance and particular fact that any reader can desire to know respecting the great SHÁH JEHÁN, from the time when he first

logue of his MSS. the "Kár Námeḥ Jehángíri," کارنامه جهانگیری or Journal of the Emperor JEHÁNGÍR, a small *duodecimo* volume, beginning with حد بغایت و شکر بی نهایت and ending with خود می اندازم دیگر شروع از همه می شود

صاحب قرآن ثانی شاهجهان پادشاه غازی⁴⁷

محمد وارث⁵⁰ ملا عبد الحمید لاهوری⁴⁹ پادشاه نامه⁴⁸

ascended the imperial throne until the thirtieth year of his reign had closed. Of the year and three months remaining (of his reign) after that period, we have an account in the work called "ÁÁMEL SÁLEH,"⁵¹ composed by MUHAMMED SÁLEH KANBÚ,⁵² but not on the same comprehensive plan as the "Pádsháh Námeḥ." It must however be acknowledged, that the "ÁÁmel Sáleh" is a very good composition, and furnishes the history of SHÁH JEHÁN from his very birth to the moment of his death.

On the subject of that distinguished personage before he had assumed the imperial government, various anecdotes have been recorded by SHERÍF MUATAMED KHÁN,⁵³ in a work which might with propriety be entitled "Mutekedmeh Pádsháh Námeḥ."⁵⁴

Likewise AMÍNÁI KAZVÍNÍ MUNSHÍ⁵⁵ has written an account of the first ten years of that emperor's reign; but this work only differs in style from the "Pádsháh Námeḥ" of ABD AL HAMÍD, already mentioned.

On the history of that mighty conqueror of the

شريف معتد خان⁵³ محمد صالح كنبو⁵² عامل صالح⁵¹

مقدمه پادشاه نامه⁵⁴ or "A Prelude or Introduction to the Pádsháh Námeḥ."

امینای قزوینی منشی⁵⁵

world, PÁDShÁH ÁÁLUMGÍR JEhANSITÁN,⁵⁶ (who now enjoys the delights of eternal felicity,) all that relates to him before the commencement of his reign may be found in the "Pádsháh Náneh," of which I have above spoken; and whatever occurred since the time when he placed himself on the exalted throne of empire, until the tenth year of his reign had ended, is related with ample details in the "Áálumgír Náneh,"⁵⁷ composed by MUHAMMED KÁZIM, the son of AMÍNÁI KAZVÍNI;⁵⁸ but of the remaining forty years, during which that powerful sovereign reigned, I have never seen a regular or continued history.

Likewise MUHAMMED SÁKÍ MUSTAAD KHÁN,⁵⁹ who composed the chronicle named "Másir Áálumgíri,"⁶⁰ has not by any means rendered his work complete; for he omitted to record several matters of considerable importance. Thus he has not mentioned the dignities and offices of honour accorded to royal princes, and their successive appointments to different situations, such as might best qualify them for managing the affairs of government: some he has noticed, but omitted others. Neither has he informed us in what year

⁵⁶ پادشاه عالمگیر جهانستان

⁵⁷ عالمگیر نامہ

⁵⁸ محمد کاظم ولد امینائی قزوینی

⁵⁹ محمد ساقی مستعد خان

⁶⁰ مائر عالمگیری

the illustrious SHÁH ÂÁLUM BANÁDUR SHÁH ⁶¹ (now gone to the abode of felicity) and MUHAMMED ÂÂZIM SHÁH ⁶² were invested with the high rank of *chehil hazári*: ⁶³ and of many other circumstances relating to those two princes, some are mentioned, and many have been altogether unnoticed. In the same manner also he has treated of other royal princes.

Respecting likewise the chief nobles, and their

⁶¹ شاه عالم بهادر شاه

⁶² محمد اعظم شاه

⁶³ چهل هزارى or *Forty thousand*. In the auto-biographical "Memoirs of the Emperor JEHANGUEIR," a most curious and entertaining work, translated from the Persian by Major Price, we often read of the different ranks (from three hundred to many thousands) conferred by that great monarch on his favourites. "Next I promoted," says he, "FERIDOUN, the son of MAHOMMED KÚLY KHÁN, from the order of one thousand to that of two thousand horse." (P. 42.) Mentioning another person who had held the rank of one thousand, the Emperor says, "I now raised him to that of twelve thousand, a dignity never before conferred on any of the Ameirs of my father's court or my own." (P. 60.) LALA BEG "I raised from the rank of one thousand to that of two thousand horse." (P. 24.) But the rank, and no doubt the emolument, of *thirty thousand* he conferred on his beautiful wife NÚRJEHÁN, (or the light of the world,) "pre-eminent among the four hundred ladies of his haram." (P. 27.) The SHÁHZÁBAH (or royal prince) KHOORUM he raised from the rank of *forty thousand* to that of *forty-five thousand*. (P. 187.)

removals from different offices, or appointments and dignities, some are mentioned, but several omitted; thus he neglected to notice the dates and various circumstances of the appointment of *Haft hazári*⁶⁴ of GHÁZIAD'DÍN KHÁN BAHÁDUR FÍRÚZ JANG,⁶⁵ and the *Shish hazári*⁶⁶ of ZÚ'LFIKÁR KHÁN BAHÁDUR NASRET JANG,⁶⁷ two distinguished generals.

On the other hand he relates with minute precision some very trifling occurrences little worthy of being recorded in history, and by no means interesting; such as particulars concerning chapels or places of prayer, the merits of different preachers, and similar topics, which had been subjects of discussion among his intimate companions. On this account his work (the "*Másir Áalumgíri*"⁶⁸) is not held in high estimation among those learned men who know how to appreciate historical compositions.

Besides this, I have heard of two other chronicles, which comprehend the whole reign of that glorious and now blessed monarch ÁÁLUMGÍR;⁶⁹

⁶⁴ هفت هزارى or seven thousand. See the note immediately preceding.

⁶⁵ غازى الدين خان بهادر فيروز جنگ

⁶⁶ شش هزارى or rank of six thousand.

⁶⁷ عالمگیر ⁶⁸ مائت عالمگیری ⁶⁹ ذوالفقار خان بهادر نصر جنگ

but these works respecting him have not yet fallen under my inspection.

One was written by a person named ABD AL HÁDÍ,⁷⁰ who had obtained the title of KÁMÚR KHÁN,⁷¹ and certainly was an author possessing some talents and ingenuity. He says, on the subject of his own work, "I have composed this book, which comprises a history of the *Jaghatái*⁷² sovereigns, from his majesty the SÁHIB KERÁN TAIMÚR to that great monarch who has lately seated himself in Paradise, and I have divided this chronicle into two volumes; one containing records from the time of the first SÁHIB KERÁN (EMÍR TAIMÚR) until the reign of SHÁH JEHÁN, entitled the second SÁHIB KERÁN: "the other volume of my chronicle relates to his majesty now in heaven, the mighty ÁÁLUMGÍR."

Notwithstanding repeated inquiries, I have not been able to procure more than the first portion of ABD AL HÁDÍ's work; nor have I yet seen the

⁷⁰ عبد الهادي

⁷¹ كامور خان

⁷² سلاطين جنغاي The provinces of *Túrán*, or *Transoxiana*, and *Türkistán*, were bequeathed, as M. D'Herbelot informs us, by the great CHANGÍZ KHÁN to his second son JAGHA-TÁI KHÁN, and from this prince the name of *Jaghatái* was given to those countries. See the "Bibliot. Orient." in *Giagathai*.

second volume, which was the chief object of my research.

The other book of which I have heard must now be mentioned; it was composed in the province of *Dekkan*,⁷³ by a person named MİR HÁSHEM,⁷⁴ on the history of ĀLUMGÍR, and contains a detailed and particular statement of various transactions and occurrences, which the author himself had actually witnessed; but this work has never fallen into my hands.

Another writer may be here noticed, who undertook to compose a history of ĀLUMGÍR by order of that illustrious emperor now resident in Paradise. This writer was MÍRZÁ MUHAMMED,⁷⁵ generally called NEÁMET KHÁN HÁJÍ,⁷⁶ an eminent personage, who obtained the title of DÁNISHMAND KHÁN;⁷⁷ and he has recorded the events of that monarch's reign as far as the third year. Although his work is written in a very pleasing style, yet it occasionally offends the reader's delicacy by indecent jests and coarse witticisms, in which the author was too much accustomed to indulge.

And in the time of that emperor whom the

⁷³ دکن or, as the name is sometimes written, *Dekkan* دكهن.

⁷⁴ میر ہاشم ⁷⁵ میرزا محمد نعمت خان حاجی

⁷⁷ دانشمند خان

Almighty has now taken into his merciful keeping, MUHAMMED FARRAKH SÍR,⁷⁸ an able and accomplished writer, named AKHLÁS KHÁN,⁷⁹ received orders to compose a history of that monarch's reign.

In the same manner a very ingenious *Munshi*, one MÍR MUHAMMED ÁHASAN,⁸⁰ who was surnamed MAANI KHÁN,⁸¹ undertook a poetical account of that deceased emperor (FARRAKH SÍR), and partly executed it; but the works of those two last-mentioned authors (AKHLÁS KHÁN and MAANI KHÁN) have not acquired much celebrity.

While that sovereign, who now reposes in the bliss of Paradise, the great MUHAMMED SHÁH PÁDSHÁH,⁸² held the reins of empire, a person named MUHAMMED MUHASAN,⁸³ a very able and intelligent writer, composed, by the imperial command, an account of transactions that occurred during a few years of that monarch's government, and performed the task with considerable elegance of language. In the year of the hejirah one thousand one hundred and fifty-two,⁸⁴ this excellent person died; and through the incapability or

⁷⁸ محمد فرخ سیر

⁷⁹ اخلاص خان

⁸⁰ میر محمد احسن

⁸¹ معانی خان

⁸² محمد شاه پادشاه

⁸³ محمد محسن

⁸⁴ Or, of the Christian era, 1739.

negligence of his son, the commencement of this work was destroyed or lost.

But respecting those sovereigns who governed *Hindústán*⁸⁵ before the GÚRKĀNIAN princes (or those of TAIMUR's race) assumed the supreme power over that country, some late writers have composed historical works; among which the chronicle, or *Tárikh*," of FERISHTAH⁸⁶ is regarded as the most comprehensive and excellent.

Next to that we may place the "*Tabkát Ak-beri*,"⁸⁷ because little had been written before its appearance respecting the history of those kings who had formerly reigned in *Dekkan*; and as these two works comprise a general account of all Indian dynasties, the particulars respecting some families are written in a brief and comprehensive manner; such as the history of those kings who ruled in *Bengál*,⁸⁸ and of the *Sind* monarchs:⁸⁹ there are however, besides these two chronicles just quoted, several other books on this subject.

Among the works that relate to one particular dynasty of the *Hind* sovereigns,⁹⁰ we must notice

⁸⁵ هندوستان

⁸⁶ See the note on FERISHTAH, in p. 38.

⁸⁷ طبقات اكبري This work has been already mentioned in p. 38.

⁸⁸ *Bengálah* بنگالہ.

⁸⁹ ملوك سند

⁹⁰ ملوك هند

the "Tárikh Bedáúni,"⁹¹ which peculiarly celebrates the kings of *Dehlí*; ⁹² also the chronicle or "Tárikh" of MULLÁ DÁÚD BÍDERI,⁹³ containing a history of the BAHMANÍAH princes of *Dekkan*,⁹⁴ and the "Burhán al Másir,"⁹⁵ which gives an account of the NIZÁM AL MULKIAH ⁹⁶ rulers of AHMEDNAGAR; ⁹⁷ likewise the "Tárikh Kuttub-sháhi,"⁹⁸ a chronicle of those chiefs who governed

⁹¹ تاریخ بداونی

⁹² سلاطین دہلی

⁹³ تاریخ ملا داؤد بیدری This appears to be the work which Major Stewart entitles the "Tárikh Bahmeny" (تاریخ بہمنی), "A minute History of the Bahmeny, or Muhammedan kings of Kulberga, in the Dekhan: to which are added, the Memoirs of the Bareed Sháhi dynasty of Ahmedabád Beider; viz. from A. D. 1346 to 1595. The author is not known."—See "Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo's Oriental Library," No. xxx. p. 13.

⁹⁴ سلاطین بہمنیہ دکن

⁹⁵ برہان المائر In the original Catalogue of MSS. compiled by an English gentleman in India (and already quoted, p. 38), this work (the "Burhán Másir") is thus mentioned:—*كتاب برهان مائر تاریخ پادشاہان دکن* or a "Chronicle of the Kings of Dekhan, from the succession of the Bahmeny dynasty (vide Scott's 'History of Dekhan') to the reign of BORNÁN NIZÁM SHÁH, the third Sultán of *Ahmednagar*. By Ali bin Yezíz Ullah, Tubba Tubá."

⁹⁶ نظام الملکیہ

⁹⁷ احمد نکر

⁹⁸ تاریخ قطب شاہی In the Catalogue of Sir William Ouseley's MSS. (No. 319) a large quarto volume is described as

in *Haiderabad*,⁹⁹ and the work entitled "*Merát Sekanderi*,"¹⁰⁰ which is a history of the *Gujerát* kings.¹ Regarding the same dynasty also there is a chronicle written in the Arabic language, and called "*Zaffer al Wáleh be muzaffer wa áleh*."²

We have, besides, many historical compositions on the subject of *Sind* and of *Kashmír*,³ with records of those sovereigns who in past ages have governed India, such as the "*Táj al Másir*,"⁴ and the "*Tabkát Násri*;"⁵ also the "*Khazáin al Fa-*

the "*Tárikh Kuttub Sháhi*," or "*History of Golconda*;" and in the same Catalogue (No. 287) we find mention of a folio MS. volume, beautifully written, and ornamented with gold lines, entitled the "*Tárikh Sulatín*," or "*Chronicle of Kings*," containing anecdotes of the *Kuttub Sháh* dynasty. This is said to be a rare and curious work. In another Catalogue of Eastern MSS., compiled in Bengal, the editor has seen described a volume entitled "*Towárikh Kottub Sháhi*" (تواریخ قطب شاہی), or "*A History of the Kottub Sháhi* dynasty, or *Kings of Golconda* (گولکنڈہ), called also *Tilling* (تینگ), and by European geographers *Telingana*." This work begins with the history of *TAIMÚR*, and is divided into four chapters or sections, and an appendix.

ملوك كجرات² مرآة سکندري¹⁰⁰ واليان حيدرآباد⁹⁹
تاج البائر⁴ كشير³ ظفر الوائيه بهظفر و آله⁵

⁵ طبقات ناصري "Ce précieux ouvrage est de l'an 655 de l'hégire; de J. C. 1257," as we learn from Anquetil du Perron (*Mem. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxi.

túbb,"⁶ and the "Muhámed Muhammedi;"⁷ likewise the "Tárikh Fírúz Sháhi,"⁸ and the "Taghalek (or Tughlik) Námeb,"⁹ composed in verse by the celebrated EMÍR KHUSRAU of *Dehli*.¹⁰

On this subject we have also the "Tárikh Mubárek Sháhi,"¹¹ the "Tabkát Mahmúd Sháhi,"¹² and the "Tabkát Bahádur Sháhi,"¹³ besides many other chronicles of the same descrip-

p. 379), who describes it as an abridgment of Universal History to the middle of the thirteenth century — an admirable work.

⁶ خزائن الفتوح

⁷ محمد محمدی

⁸ تاریخ فیروز شاہی Probably the same work that is described in the Catalogue of Sir William Onseley's MSS., as the "Tárikh Fírúz Sháhi," composed by *Zayá Berni* (ضیا برنی), being a history of the kings of *Dehli*.

⁹ تغلق نامہ نظم See the note immediately following.

¹⁰ امیر خسرو دہلوی This distinguished poet, as we learn from Major Stewart in his Catalogue of Tippoo's Library, (p. 63) "unfortunately lived at a period when vice was triumphant throughout Hindústán. He, however, had the happiness, during the few last years of his life, to see a just prince on the throne, whose virtues he has commemorated in his 'History of Az Addeen Tughlik Sháh.' The poet survived his patron but a few months, and died A.D. 1325. His tomb is still respected at Dhely."

¹¹ تاریخ مبارک شاہی

¹² طبقات محمود شاہی

¹³ طبقات بہادر شاہی

tion, which however at present but rarely appear in this country ; and when, from time to time, any copies of the works above mentioned fall by chance into our hands, they are found to be imperfect and inaccurate.

But if the chief men of this age, the great pillars of empire, relinquishing their indifference on the subject of such matters, and entertaining a laudable desire to know the history of all events that have occurred from the commencement of the eleventh year of his late Majesty's reign (that monarch who now abides in Paradise, the constant companion of felicity) to the present year, one thousand one hundred and sixty-two of the hejrah, (or of the Christian era 1748,) should cause those transactions to be recorded faithfully in regular order, they would confer an important favour on all those attached to the illustrious race of our Indian sovereigns.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 12. The Spanish work of Clavigo, to which an allusion is here made, was published "*en Sevilla*" (1582) under the following title—"Historia del gran Tamerlan, y itinerario y enarracion del viage, y relacion de la embaxada que Ruy Gonçalez de Clavijo le hizo per mandado del muy poderoso Sennor rey don Henrique al tercero de Castilla," &c. It has been already mentioned that Sir Gore Ouseley possesses a portrait of TAIMÚR; supposed to be original, evidently old, and in style like those pictures executed two or three hundred years ago by excellent artists of Samarkand, Balkh, and other places in the north. There is, however, a considerable difference between this drawing and the portrait of TIMOUR, engraved after an Indian painting, and prefixed by M. Langlès to his translation of the "*Institute Politiques et Militaires de Tamerlan*," &c.: they scarcely correspond in any circumstance either of face, dress, arms, or attitude. From the Spanish traveller above named, (who had seen the Barbarian Conqueror,) we learn that TAIMÚR wanted one finger of each hand; but neither does the drawing nor the engraved portrait indicate any appearance of such a defect or mutilation.

His nails are tinged with some red dye, (probably *hinná*,) according to a custom of great antiquity in the East (see Sir William Ouseley's "Travels," vol. III. p. 565); and the drawing represents an extraordinary substitute for a sling, by which is supported his left arm, which perhaps had been wounded, or was diseased: this substitute is a branch of some tree, split or forked, and thick, proportionably, as a man's wrist; the forked part is rudely fastened round the neck of *TAIMÚR*, and the ends project behind in such a manner as must have proved extremely inconvenient to the wearer, like the iron collar and long projecting handle with which in some countries the unfortunate African slaves are tormented. It seems strange, that those who furnished the conqueror with splendid dresses did not at the same time supply a more convenient sling, which might have been easily made of silk or linen; but the editor, from circumstances which he himself observed in *Hyrcania*, is inclined to believe that the branch had been part of some tree superstitiously venerated for its supposed medicinal virtues of preternatural efficacy.

P. 14. Here it seems necessary to correct a mistake which the editor made respecting those portions of *TABRÍ*'s Arabic text now preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin: there Dr. Rosen examined *four* volumes; the other part which he mentioned belongs to the University of Leyden. From a very eminent Orientalist, Professor Kosegarten, we learn that the four Berlin volumes of *TABRÍ*'s original work in Arabic are the *fifth*, *tenth*, *eleventh*, and *twelfth*. The Leyden Manuscript is the *third* volume. Professor Kosegarten does not know that any of the other parts exist in the libraries of Europe, and he is inclined to believe (like the author of this Essay, p. 14) that the whole work must have occupied about twenty volumes. "Integrum hoc opus, Arabica lingua conscriptum,

“Tabaristanensis viginti circiter partibus complexus esse videtur; quarum, quantum scio, nonnisi quinque in Bibliothecis Occidentalibus adhuc repertæ sunt,—tertia, quinta, decima, undecima, duodecima; pars tertia, quæ Lugduni Batavorum in Bibliotheca Academica asservatur,” &c. (See p. iv. of the Preface to Kosegarten’s “Tabaristanensis Annales,” published in Arabic, with a Latin translation (from the fifth volume) at Gryphswald, 1831, quarto.) It has been already mentioned (in a note to this Essay, p. 15) that Ockley found some portion of the Arabic TABRÎ among Archbishop Laud’s MSS.; but of what volume this fragment was a part, has not been ascertained. That the *second* volume is preserved in the British Museum appears from the “Oriental Collections,” before quoted (p. 14), and the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris likewise possesses a portion; but this, however useful in collation, adds little to our stock of TABRÎ’s Arabic text, since it is, unfortunately, the *third* volume, like the MS. of Leyden—“Codex Bombycinus, quo continetur pars tertia Chronici quod Tabari sive Tabariense appellatur, idque ab auctoris nomine,” &c. (See Catal. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Reg. Galliæ, vol. i. p. 161.) TABRÎ must have been a voluminous author, if, as report says, he covered with writing every day, during forty years, almost eighty pages. “Mox etiam in libros componendos tantum laboris impendit, ut per quadraginta annos quotidie quadraginta fere folia scribendo implevisse dicatur.” (See Kosegarten’s Preface, as above quoted, p. i.)

P. 24. Concerning the “Kitâb Fatuhh” (كِتَاب فَتُوح), or “Book of Victories,” composed by IBN ÂSİM of Kûfah (ابن اِثْم كُوفِي), it may be remarked, (as of TABRÎ’s “Great Chronicle” already noticed,) that the original work is chiefly

known through the medium of a very old Persian translation. The editor endeavoured, but without success, to procure a copy of the Arabic text at *Shíráz*, *Isfahán*, *Tehrán*, and other cities in Persia, and subsequently at Constantinople. *ÁÍSİM* AL *KÚFI*, whom he regards as the father of him who composed the "*Kitáb Fatuhh*," died, according to Casiri, in the year 117 of the Muhammedan era (or of Christ 735), and was eminent as one among the seven earliest readers of the *Korán* :—" *Ase-mus Cuphiensis, unus e septem insignibus Alcorani lectoribus, cujus obitus in an. Eg. 117 incidit.*" (See the "*Biblioth. Arabico-Hispan. Escorialensis*," vol. 11., Index referring to vol. 1. p. 504.) That this venerable personage (*ÁÍSİM* of *Kúfah*) might, in early youth, have personally conversed with veteran warriors whose valour had contributed towards the conquest of Persia, was mentioned as the editor's opinion, in a letter quoted by the Rev. Mr. Walpole (see his "*Collection of Travels*," &c. vol. 11. p. 428); and *ÁÍSİM*, we may reasonably suppose, would have communicated the information obtained from those veterans to his son, whose Chronicle, in fact, abounds with minute details, such as indicate very strongly the genuine authority of ocular witnesses. By so powerful a recommendation, the editor of this Essay was induced, many years ago, to translate all those passages of *IBN ÁÍSİM*'s work which illustrate Persian history, the wars and negotiations between Muselmán chiefs and the Sassanian princes and their generals, with a variety of curious and interesting anecdotes, which he has not hitherto found in any other Arabic or Persian record. These will, perhaps, be soon offered to the public.

P. 26. A history of the *GHAZNEVIDE* dynasty has been undertaken by that able Orientalist, Professor Wilken of Berlin, and will be dedicated to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

P. 30. *Rúm*. It appears from D'Herbelôt, ("Bibl. Orient." in *Roum*.) that the Arabian geographer EBN AL VARDI, in his "Kheridat al Ajáieb," gives a very extensive signification to this name, comprehending under it the regions beginning at the Atlantic Ocean, Spain, France, England, Germany, Poland, Italy, Hungary, &c., as far as Constantinople and the Euxine Sea, where it joins Slavonia and the borders of Russia; but the name, he adds, is more properly given to *Romaniah* and *Romiliah*, Thrace, Greece, &c. Another geographer, in his "Massuhat al Ardh," or "Extent of the Earth," restricts *Rúm* to a part of Asia Minor. HAMDALLAH KAZVÍNI, in his "Nuzahat al Kulúb," (chap. vii.) mentions as the countries by which *Rúm* is bounded, *Armen* or Armenia, *Gurjestán* or Georgia, *Sis*, *Misr* or Egypt, *Shám* or Syria, and the *Bahr-i-Rúm*, the Sea of *Rúm* or Mediterranean:—

حدود مملکت روم ارمن و کرجستان و سیس و مصر و شام و بحر روم

P. 32. *Tarikh Jehán Kushái* (or *Kushá*). Of this title is the more modern work translated into French (and English) by Sir William Jones, who thus notices it in the "Catalogue of Persian Books," annexed to his "Persian Grammar,"
تاریخ جهانکشایا تاریخ نادری من گلام میرزا مهدی
"The history of the life of NADIR SHAH, king of Persia, written by MIRZA MAHADI," as Sir William Jones explains it. This title might be more literally translated "The *Tárikh* (or Chronicle) *Jehán Kushá*, or the *Tárikh Náderi*, from the pen of MÍRZÁ MAHADI." The full name of this author was MÍRZÁ MUHAMMED MAHADI KHÁN MÁZINDERÁNI—میرزا محمد مهدی خان مازندرانی. There are many other instances of Persian works bearing the same titles.

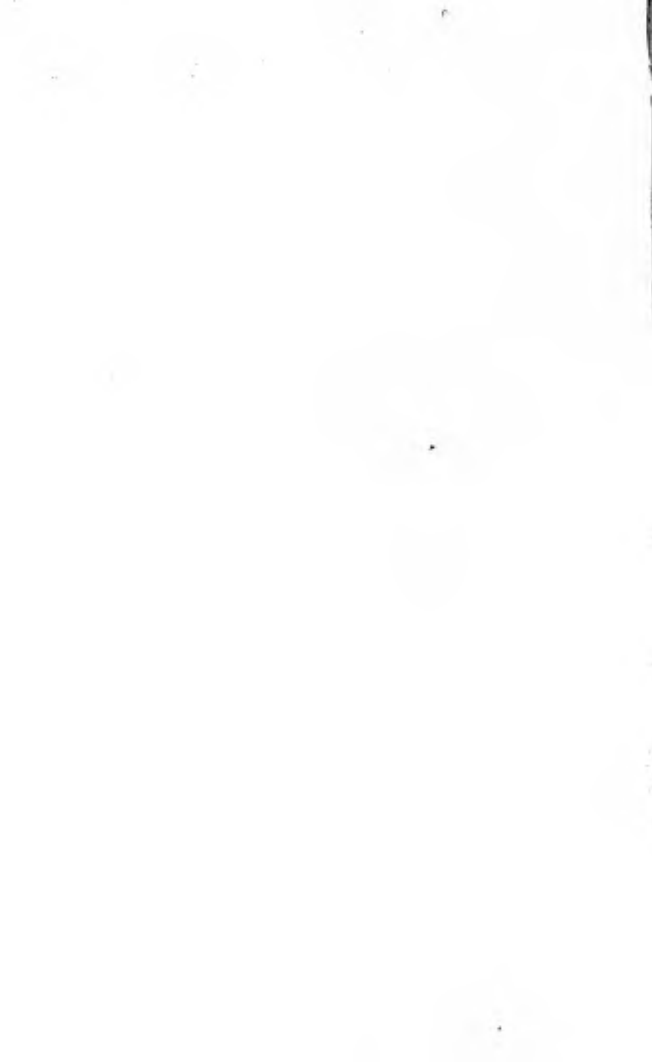
P. 36. *Wákiát Báberi*. Of this valuable work a highly in-

teresting translation has lately appeared under the following title: "Memoirs of Zehered-din Baber, emperor of Hindustan; written by himself in the Jaghatai Turki, and translated partly by the late John Leyden, Esq. M. D., partly by William Erskine, Esq.; with Notes and a Geographical and Historical Introduction; together with a Map of the countries between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and a Memoir regarding its construction; by Charles Waddington, Esq., of the East India Company's Engineers." (London, 1826. Quarto.) In the Preface to this excellent work (Baber's Memoirs, page 1) the tract of country called *Jaghatai* is described as extending "from the *Ulugh Tagh* mountains on the north, to the *Hindu Kush* mountains on the south; and from the Caspian Sea on the west, to the deserts of *Cobi*, beyond *Terfán*, *Kashghar*, and *Yarkend* on the east."

Pp. 38—48. The work of "*Ferishtah*," mentioned in these pages, was first published in English, several years ago, under the following title: "The History of Hindostan, translated from the Persian by Alexander Dow, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel in the Company's service." A new edition of this work appeared in the year 1803. (London, 3 vols. octavo.) But a most excellent translation, made by Lieutenant-Colonel Briggs, was published in 1829, entitled "The History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the year 1612; translated from the original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta." (London, 4 vols. octavo.)

P. 51. *Hesht Behisht*. It has been already observed (p. 57) that Persian works totally different sometimes bear the same titles. A beautiful poem by EMÍR KHUSRAU of *Dehli* is called the *Hesht Behisht*, or "Eight Paradises." Thus we find under the title of *Neyáristán* (نیکارستان) three works com-

posed by different authors (AHMED AL GHAFÁRI, ALI BEN TAIFÚR BUSTÁMI, and KEMÁL PÁSHÁ) mentioned in the Catalogue of Sir W. Ouseley's Oriental MSS. Nos. 452, 454, 455; and in the Bodleian Library at Oxford there is a fourth work, entitled "*Negáristán*, or the Gallery of Pictures," by JUÍNI جويني



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P. 10. l. 2. *for* Usbek read Uzbek.
 — 48. — 5. — Taimur — Taimúr.



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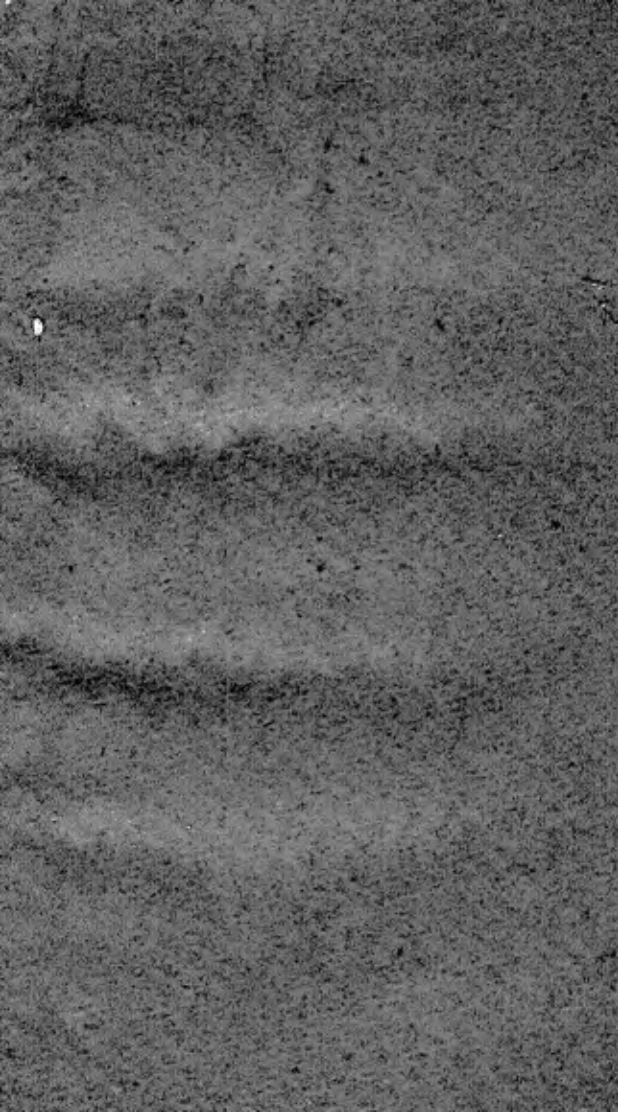
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